

# THE REPUBLIC.

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## CLOSE OF VOLUME IV.

The present is the closing number of the Fourth Volume of THE REPUBLIC. The fact that the publishers feel that their monthly publication has not yet come up to their realization of what a first-class exponent of Republican principles should be, is good evidence that there is still room for improvement; and although their labors thus far have received the gratifying indorsement of a very liberal support from the public, it will be the constant aim of the publishers to increase the value of each successive monthly issue of the magazine, until it has reached the highest standard of excellence possible in a work of its character. The proprietors are fully impressed with the importance and responsibilities of the position which THE REPUBLIC occupies. As the exponent of the principles upon which our Government was founded, and has hitherto been sustained through all the vicissitudes of party succession, the leading aim of the writers for the magazine has ever been, and will continue with increased effort to be, to give prominence to the fundamental principles of political integrity. The very fact that Republican principles come nearer to a full realization and recognition of the people's rights than any other form of political creed ever promulgated through human agency, is in itself incontrovertible evidence of the absolute necessity for the strictest integrity in the practical application of those principles in all our public affairs. A garment composed of the purest and whitest fabrics is more easily soiled than one of less fineness of texture; so a Government based upon the pure principle of equal rights to all men must be more sensitive to a want of in-

tegrity on the part of its professed supporters than one in which the rights of the people are more or less ignored.

History assures us that Republicanism cannot flourish, or even be long sustained, if it is not supported by an intelligent and appreciative people, and the purest integrity and patriotism on the part of its officials. Impressed with this fact, it will continue to be the aim of THE REPUBLIC writers and publishers to expose every indication of official unfaithfulness, wherever detected, and afford their best support to public men whose fidelity is so marked by their every-day public acts as to be beyond question.

The Nation is nearing the hundredth anniversary in its comparatively brief history. It is also entering upon an unusually important political period—a campaign, or succession of campaigns, embracing State, Congressional and Presidential elections—in which the solution of some of the gravest political issues ever brought before the people are involved. There is much to be done. THE REPUBLIC will not shirk its share of the work, or seek to avoid its duty in the premises. As an exponent of the ennobling principles of true Republicanism, it has a high mission to perform, and its aim will ever be faithfulness to its trust.

For the support hitherto received, the publishers are grateful, and they will aim to serve its continuance. An additional effort on the part of each subscriber when making his next remittance, to enclose the name of a friend or two, with their subscriptions, will greatly encourage our workers. These kindly considerations are always accepted with the most grateful recollections.

## J. R. GIDDINGS.

I am asked to furnish a sketch of Joshua Reed Giddings—which I shall attempt. "Some philosophical analysis of the man," said one to me. Not a bit of it. The moment you analyze any man—the greatest—it reduces him to the elements of common humanity. So much virtue, so much truth, so much courage, so much weakness, &c., he ceases to be a man at all, and is neither an object of admiration, respect, or even of interest. Nor will I attempt to extract and draw out the lesson of, or any moral, profitable or other, of Mr. Giddings's life.

I would, if I might, outline him against the background of his time, and in its light and atmosphere, that old friends would recognize, and in which strangers might see something of the man as he was, and to whom he would explain the moral and lesson of his own life.

That this may be attempted, the recent years with their new structures must disappear, and we must turn back—back to that time when the feeble States, under the gentle pressure of the new Constitution, began that wondrous growth whose fruitage in our time is a nation.

The southern hemisphere had its one thing of slavery, which gave it unity and developed might. It is the problem of popular government—to make the personal interest of the men who govern one with the governed, so that the lines of interest and ambition may draw with the lines of the public interest, and along the road of advance. The rare advantage of this, the South, in the infant struggles of the new-born nation, had. It began one while the rest were many.

This one thing, like a huge impregnated mother parasite, fastened itself, a great gall, upon the succulent and tender leaf of the Constitution, and drew its juice and life to its own growth and maintenance.

It was anticipated by the framers of that instrument, that the Southern bondsmen would escape to Northern freedom; and they made it the duty of the States on demand to give them up. Six years after the promulgation of that instrument, slavery pro-

cured by national legislation the transfer of this duty and obligation to the national government, with the pledge of all its power to its performance.

It secured stipulations with all the bordering tribes of Indians for a capture and return of all its children who should flee to their forests and fastnesses for cover, and fought, with the national armies, the interminable war of well nigh a score of years in the everglades of Florida, to enforce them. It purchased Louisiana, it conquered Texas, and finally New Mexico and California, for the fields in which to extend itself. It took possession of parties, inspired policies, elected Presidents and appointed their Cabinets. It distributed patronage, and took the command of the army and navy to itself. It early entered Congress, and well nigh openly voted from the first. It elected the Speakers of the House, appointed all its standing committees, and dictated and fashioned its Legislation. It abolished the right of petition, the liberty of speech, and excluded anti-slavery papers from the mails. It attempted to interpolate itself into the text of international law, and more than one Secretary of State demanded pay for slaves, which the breath of God blew over the seas from the vaunted shores of the only home of human freedom.

The Constitution was framed to protect and cherish the institutions of the States. Slavery was the one institution of the South, and hence was cherished and protected till it became national, and no longer local, and all the strength of the Union fenced it about. To oppose it was a violation of the Constitution, to war against it was a threat to dissolve the Union. It became the Constitution, was the Union, was the Nation.

The diabolism with which it inspired its votaries and propaganda, and by which it perverted private conviction, until public opinion became wholly diseased and darkened, will ever remain a wonderful monument of man's power to generate and propagate a disease of morals, and a pestilence of the mind.

From an abhorrent wrong, only to be temporarily endured, it secured toleration, then favor, then protection, and finally love and veneration. From a crime to be punished with death, it was transformed to the sum of human good, and decreed eternal.

It fastened itself upon the American Church, and was sanctified with the laying on of holy hands. Warped scriptures, called sacred, came to its support, and damned or blessed in its name, until to question its divinity was to blaspheme—and so slavery became Church and State.

In the ripe over fullness of time, a few men of the North arose in an atmosphere so thick and poisoned that at first they might not be heard, and denounced it. They denounced it as Luther and Melancthon denounced the Papacy. They found it the enthroned ruler of the Nation, and men charged them with treason. They found it enmeshed in the Constitution, and men denounced them as violators of it. They found it fenced about and hedged in by the Union, and were charged with seeking to dissolve that bond. Nor were these charges without foundation. They struck at slavery wherever they found it, and they struck full, vengeful and ponderous blows at everything that stood between them and it—righteous blows, God directed blows, blows whose resonant resounding through all the land finally awoke the heavy-eyed people from the poison lethargy of death, ere it became all dead.

One form there was, and is, that comes to me. I close my eyes and I see William Lloyd Garrison in mail of proof assailing the frowning fortress of slavery, as that Black Knight, with his ponderous battle axe, the postern of the Castle of Froent de Beuff, standing alone unmoved amid descending fire, raining stones, and falling beams, while high over the din and carnival of battle those awful blows were heard, carrying terror to the defenders on the battlements.

Not in this direct assault, wounded and bruised as it was, was slavery to fall. Something there was of good and precious in the nation which had grown, and in the constitution which man had made, that were to be saved.

All allies within the Union lines, within the Constitution, who loved and served both, zealous defenders of the nation; called into action perhaps by those outside assailants of all, were to arise, who were to join armies in an assault upon slavery, and who were at the same time defenders of the Constitution and Union against them. Strange allies were these hating friends, these loving enemies, and memorable was the three-cornered war which followed.

During all the early years of these times, the man was growing up, felling the trees and living in the shadows of the wondrous maple forests of northern Ohio; who in God's good time, would without wounding a fiber of the nation's organic law, patiently dissolve and disentangle slavery from its enmeshment in the Constitution; and so clearly separate them that no man should mistake what was slavery for what was the Constitution; and so that all who would might see that slavery did, and could derive no help from that instrument—could find no resting place even in its shadow.

Broad browed, broad shouldered, and lofty of stature he was, with a dome-like head, roomy and ample in which to search out, turn over, investigate, separate and analyze deep, subtle, complex and difficult problems, and carry forward and carry out long and great trains of continuous thought to ultimate conclusions; with a power to compel others to adopt them as convictions, and embody those convictions in actions and lives. One of the kings of men, in a primitive race he was, not conquering by a startling power, and blinding with a dazzling brilliancy, but creating, forming, molding and leading with a far-seeing, deep-reaching, politic sagacity, backed and sustained with a massive physical power, under a cool, wary courage, which in its serene repose on God, never blanched in the face of mortals.

Born two years after the first fugitive slave law, at Tioga Point, Pennsylvania. His father's name was Joshua, and he had an uncle Elisha, and I know not what old scriptural relations besides. A Puritan of course—and on both sides—from men and women who came over in the first half cen-

tury after Plymouth. Nomadic—at one or two points in Massachusetts, and stopping in Connecticut, and then to Pennsylvania, and in Joshua's own infancy at Canandaigua, and when he was ten to Wayne township, Ashtabula county. This in 1805, three years after Ohio, with her nine immense outline counties—she was but an unknown outline herself—became a State in contemplation of the Constitution.

This was the Genesis of that remarkable colonization of the West from New England. The planting of the Connecticut Western Reserve was so much of Massachusetts and Connecticut removed to the broader, freer and more fertile Ohio woods; where some of the Yankee characteristics were destined to further development, and may survive their disappearance in the older "Down Country." They brought the Sabbath, church, school and catechism with them, with frugality and industry, the love of God, love of law, love of education and yearning for a better condition. All these were planted deep and grew up quick and hardy; and their influence and flavor went out and possessed the whole state in its infancy.

Here in this pure, bracing atmosphere, on this new ground, fragrant from the hand of nature, unconscious of his mission, catching only faint echoes of the far off world beyond the woods; dreaming his boy dreams, thinking his boy thoughts, the younger Joshua grew up. Chopping down trees, grubbing stumps, logging and burning, breaking steers, milking cows, hoeing potatoes, saying the catechism, turning the grindstone, and suffering all the visitations of a Yankee boy, in that old time on the Reserve, with pastimes of hunting, fishing, raising log cabins, going to meeting, spelling schools, and militia musters. Stalwart, hardy, docile, brave and strong he was; the bully of the ring at square hold, and the fastest runner at a foot race in his range.

Then came the war of 1812, ominously proclaimed in the Ohio woods by the sudden and mysterious disappearance of all the Indians. But the day before in their camps, coming and going at the cabins, with their squaws

and papposes; to-day wigwam, camp and forest were empty and silent; and to-morrow came the alarum of war. At the news of Proctor's and Tecumseh's invasion, the first wave of alarm took every family with hastily gathered goods, one day's terrified flight East; and the first night each lodged in the abandoned cabin of the other to return more leisurely on the morrow.

Young Giddings, then under military age, procured his father's consent, and went on a tour of duty in the militia, and was in one very sharp affair near Sandusky Peninsula. The victory of Perry in that old-time sea fight, followed as it was by the retreat and capture of Proctor's army, and the death of the more formidable Tecumseh, left the Reserve to the contests of peace.

At nineteen, with his shrewd, observing neighbors, young Joshua had acquired the reputation of a scholar—that day of Lindley Murray, Dayball the Third part, and Columbian orator, &c. With a young American's hunger for books and learning, he had found time in the little crevices of labor, and energy enough to read and master everything in print that his reaching hands could grasp. At night, mostly by log fires or crackling hickory bark—dipped tallow candles were a luxury reserved for company and evening meetings—and when the wearied forester usually retired with the hens that he might go forth at the crowing of the cock. Like many another Western Reserve boy, he kept school several winters; fitted himself as he could, and in 1821 commenced the study of law in the office of Elisha Whittlesey, at Canfield, Ohio, the same office from which so many eminent lawyers and distinguished men—among whom were the Wades, B. F. and Edward—afterwards graduated.

At the end of the shortest time he was admitted to the bar, that surest test of a man's enduring mental qualities which modern life presents. Then began with him the real educational processes which bring out and strengthen, polish and render useful all the various faculties which go to make up the higher forms of that many-sided man the *msi prius* lawyer.



With this origin, this rearing, this experience, this surrounding, with this capacity and these helps, these burthens of life which were inspirations in this field on the then frontier of the young Republic, with its traditions and memories, its fresh, strong life and its struggles, its aspirations and hopes all strong in the heart, soul and brain of the young citizen lawyer, now husband and father, he went forward, unconsciously fitting himself for the great harvest growing and ripening to his hand.

In 1826 he was elected a member of the Ohio House of Representatives, declined reelection in 1827. In 1828 he was defeated for the Ohio Senate, the only instance of a rejection by the people when his claims were submitted to them.

In 1838 he was elected as a Representative in Congress, where he sat continuously until the end of the 35th Congress.

Mr. Giddings was a Whig, fully assenting to their dogmas and policy, and continued to act with the party until the nomination of Gen. Taylor, in 1848, except in instances where his convictions of duty and right compelled him to separate from them. In 1848, he aided to organize the Free-Soil party in Ohio, Massachusetts, &c., and was the nominee of the Free-Soil caucus in the Ohio Legislature for United States Senator in 1848-9, when Mr. Chase was elected, by the votes of the Democrats and the votes of three Free-Soilers.

He united in the formation of the present Republican party, with whom he acted until his death.

Theodore Weld made his tour through Ohio in 1836 or 7, and with a power rarely equalled, in a way revealed the thing slavery, and men seemed, for the first time, to see it. This undoubtedly did much to quicken and intensify the settled convictions which broadened and deepened in the mind of Mr. Giddings, and he entered Congress well nigh a mental master of the subject. He found Mr. Adams and Mr. Slade then dumb under the rule of the House, which excluded petitions and debate upon the subject of slavery.

The first secession of the Southern mem-

bers of Congress from the House had already taken place, under the lead of Mr. Wise—driven out by the resolutions of Mr. Slade, or rather by his attempt to discuss them, and they only returned upon the unconditional surrender of the Democracy, who then ruled the House.

The Calhoun dogma was, that slavery was an institution of the States, protected by the Constitution, and hence Congress had no power against it; that the Constitution was the law of the Territory of the United States, and hence slavery had the right, under it, to plant itself all over it.

Mr. Giddings held that slavery was purely local and State, only, over which, in the States, Congress had no power; that as it was a crime against God, nature, and civilization, Congress must legislate against it wherever it had the power, in the Territories, in the District of Columbia, the coastwise and inter-State slave trade; that as it was local, the people of the Free States had the right to be free from its burthens, sin, and shame; and, almost single-handed, he began the gigantic task of expelling it from the National Capital, denationalizing it and beating it down to the proportions of a mere State institution.

Among the first things that beset the eye of the young Representative at the Federal City was a cottle of slaves, bought and collected in Maryland, coupled and chained, and driven through Washington, attended by armed ruffians, on their way to a Southern market. It was halted at the eastern front of the Capitol, for the edification of the guardians of human liberty, and seen by Mr. Giddings, with others. He also found a slave-pen and prison within sight of the Capitol, on Seventh street.

On the 13th of February, 1840, a bill came up in the House to appropriate \$40,000 to build a bridge over the Anacosta river, (Eastern Branch of the Potomac,) which Mr. Giddings assailed, on the ground that by reason of the slave trade and the existence of slavery in the District, Washington was an unfit place for the National Capitol, and for that reason the Nation should not build the bridge. This discussion was not within the rule of

silence, and the bill was defeated. From that moment he was marked and doomed, as the mortal foe of slavery, against whom war without rule or law was denounced through the South, the North—through all the Nation, by the champions of slavery.

For us, the Whig campaign of 1840 is now without interest. In February, 1841, Mr. Giddings made his first great speech upon the Seminole war, unfolding its object—the recapture of runaway slaves, and enslaving their children, born in freedom, &c., and generally the policy and practice of the Government towards the Southern tribes, as wholly in the interest of slavery. This speech was widely disseminated, and was one of Mr. Giddings' most valuable, as it was his first, contribution to the education of the people upon the subject. It cost him the personal favor of the new President, Gen. Harrison, who promised to relieve the Whig party of all responsibility for the utterances of this new Tribune. Poor, weak, old man, Providence soon relieved the country of him. He was, at the best, a sad anachronism—if Mr. Chase, Mr. Giddings, and many of the most of us, then old enough, did support him. Mr. Giddings, who had given him efficient support, called on him and paid his respects—and never met him again. This speech called down upon its author the denunciations of Waddy Thomson, of South Carolina, Alford, of Georgia, and other distinguished Southern men.

The war, from that day went on, Giddings ever on the alert, cool, intrepid and wary, ever present, and ever equal to the occasion.

In 1842, during the vacation, he published the "Pacifcus Papers"—an extended inquiry into the Constitutional relations of the people of the Free-States to slavery, which were widely circulated—republished, collected and issued in a pamphlet, which went through many editions.

In March, 1842, he offered his Creole resolutions in the House. In the October before, the Creole cleared from Norfolk for New Orleans, with a cargo of slaves. On the high seas, they took possession of the ship, ordered it to be steered for Liberia, and it was taken to Nassau, where the negroes were received

and sheltered as freemen. Mr. Webster, Secretary of State, demanded compensation of the British Government. In the similar case of the *Enterprise*, Mr. Calhoun had already committed the Democracy to the doctrine of his resolutions, in the Senate—that the law of nations recognized property in slaves—to meet which, in part, was the purpose of Mr. Giddings' declaration, the gist of which was, that on the high seas slaves were free, and might recapture their liberty, and were not the subjects of compensation. The annunciation of these doctrines produced an excitement incomprehensible to the men of this day. At the earnest solicitation of his friends Mr. Giddings was induced to withdraw them for the present, when John Minor Botts, of Virginia, said that "the withdrawal did not excuse their introduction," and drew a resolution of censure upon their author: which Weller, of Ohio, adopted and moved as his own. After a stormy day, without permitting Mr. Giddings to be heard, the resolution passed, some Northern Whigs voting for it. So unapproachable in its sacredness was slavery. Its vassals took one short breath of respite at their seeming triumph over its great foe. It was hoped that he was now whipped into submission.

The indignant Tribune resigned—repaired to his people, and five weeks afterward, with their almost unanimous acclaim—the messenger of his own re-election—he haughtily stood before the Speaker, in the face of the humiliated House, and took anew the oath of office and of war.

Like the giant of old fable, when worsted, he retouched the source of his supernatural being, and received irresistible might. Never again was that head to go down in the presence of the vaunted chivalry of slavery.

It was while making his speech—a bitter phillip on the cases of the slave-ships, *Encomium* and *Comet*—that a Southern member, with his hand on his pistol, rudely jostled him, and stood glaring at him until he finished his speech.

"Did you push me for the purpose of insulting me?" then demanded Mr. Giddings of him.

"I did, for the purpose of insulting you," was the truculent answer.

"Well, sir, I am in the habit of leaving those who wontonly insult me to the contempt of public opinion," was the killing response—under which the Southerner slunk away.

Not long after, Black, of Georgia, with the menace of a raised cane, came near enough to strike him—challenged him to repeat an assertion, which he did in his face, with superlative emphasis, when the Southern members kindly removed their discomfitted associate. At the same time Dawson, of Georgia, cried out—"Damn him, I'll shoot him!" which he neglected to do.

This was in 1842-3-4, the fiery acute stage of the war, which finally became chronic, and slightly more decorous.

Mr. Giddings supported Henry Clay for the Presidency, in 1844, for which it is but just to say that the Abolitionists bitterly denounced him.

There were the speeches against the Annexation of Texas; the killing speech on the Oregon fiasco, of February 5, 1845; then the Mexican War; the Armistad case; and then the first of the contests over the election of a Speaker of the House, when Mr. Winthrop was a candidate, and refused to promise that he would not pack the standing committees in favor of slavery; Mr. Giddings refused to support him, and two years afterward defeated him on the same ground.

Hale was now in the Senate; Slade had left the House; Seth M. Gates had been there, and Palfrey and Tuck were with Mr. Giddings; Mr. Adams was dead.

April of 1847, at the capital, was signalized by the attempt of over one hundred slaves to escape from Washington, on an old schooner, down the Potomac. They were arrested and returned to the city jail. On the next day, a mob followed Mr. Giddings to the prison, who went to visit the prisoners. With loud threats and menaces, they demanded admission into the prison where he was, and at his intercession were admitted. Mr. Giddings saw the officers of the vessel, with their imprecations in his ears,

and when ready to depart, he calmly turned and faced them, when, awed to silence by his supreme bearing and courage, they opened their ranks and paid him silent homage, as he majestically walked through and unmolested away. He was charged with having instigated this escape, in and out of the House; and under it he not only visited the jail but the slave-pen on Seventh St., giving of his brave, great-hearted sympathy to the hopeless and helpless prisoners; and then turned to confront his enemies in the House. Is it a wonder that the bandit gangs began to respect as well as fear him?

This occurred only twenty-eight years ago, this past April. Then was the war and peace with Mexico. The Wilmot Proviso. The Shadrac case, and President Fillmore. The Fugitive Slave Act, and Mr. Webster of 1850; and the pledge of both parties to stop the slavery agitation. Then more contests for Speaker and many significant events. Then came Pierce and Kansas, during which John Hickman appeared in the House a Democrat.

The last of the great contests for speaker of the House was fought out, beginning with December, 1855, and resulting in the election of General Banks. *At this last*, and here was the first Speaker elected, pledged to secure for the voice of freedom and justice, utterances by the organs of the House, that body which must ever govern the Republic.

Sixteen years, and now with his grand figure at its fullest height, his face almost transfigured, with his noble head crowned with its curling, splendid, silver white hair, in a voice which the dome heard, he himself administered the oath of office in the presence of the wondering world! That day saw one of the grandest figures in American history, at its hour, which struck the turning tide of the great battle of freedom against bondage. Art seeking to illustrate a great crisis in American annals could find no finer form, sharply joined with a great event, that would more fitly employ its hand.

Here at his best and highest, at this supreme moment of his and his country's career, I leave him for the contemplation of his countrymen.

Four years longer he remained in Congress,

until the 4th of March, 1859. Four years of arduous, anxious, faithful work. The only man from the tenth century of the Atherton Gag; through the struggling dawn of coming day, until its assured splendor lit up all the American world—day of battle though it was. During all the years of strife, in the light which streamed in upon him from God and truth, often alone, he fought the long, bitter war in the American House. The way grew broad, and the light stronger, till from all the fields so thickly sown and cultivated with such care by his great outside allies and himself, scores of young and brave men come to share the battle and grasp the honors of victory.

As a speaker, Mr. Giddings was under the want of great stimulus—indifferent, not to say dull in manner; a little like the indifferently good English parliamentary debater. Nature had not given him the lighter graces of fancy and fluency, nor yet the highest grace and power of imagination. He sometimes wanted a word which would not come. Sometimes he waited for it, and sometimes he energetically closed his eyes and compelled it. The tenderness of his feelings often imparted a touching pathos; and when under the combined influence of his intense convictions, which upon great questions were always imbued with a high religious fervor, and the inspiration of personal opposition, emphasized with frequent interruptions which seemed to cheer and exhilarate him, he was always effective, and sometimes arose to the high and grand proportions of the orator; master of his theme, master of his audience, and, more and better, master of his best and most complete self.

Nature gave him great power, and jealous was she of it; so deeply hidden and curiously overlaid, that it could not be for common use, and so become cheap and vulgar. It was only when a great want was to be met, a need crying to him with pain and anguish; when perils and enemies thickened, that the prison-house of his might was unlocked, and the armed man came forth; as on the floor of the House, where amid the melee of the heady fights, of shivered lance and battle axe, his plumed head never went down.

A fine edition of Mr. Giddings' speeches was published in Boston and London in 1853. In 1858 appeared his "Exiles of Florida," an historical sketch, of much beauty and force, of the fortunes and fates of the runaway slaves, who took refuge with the Seminoles.

The latter of his years were employed in the production of his history of "The Rebellion, its Authors and Causes," which is a lucid and very spirited narrative of the Congressional history of slavery, and published in 1864.

He was appointed Consul-General to the British Provinces in March, 1861, and died at Montreal, May 27, 1864.

The time has not come for a just comparative estimate of the leading men whose words and works wrought out the great results of these last of days. I have always felt that, although Mr. Giddings was greatly honored by the men of his day, still, he was by them much underestimated. An assailant of old convictions, old prejudices, the relentless champion of ideas so old and long-forgotten that they seemed new, he too was long the object of a bitter prejudice, which unconsciously in the minds of the masses, withheld from him the full recognition of his merits and great services, when the cause of that prejudice had ceased. When the time comes when some thoughtful, broad-browed, silent student shall come, who will know more of us than we know of ourselves; the men and events of our time will be marshalled to their final places; and am I wrong in supposing that Joshua Reed Giddings, will stand with the first?

THE Indianapolis *Journal* notes a peculiar feature of the recent election in that city. It says: "Scores of Republicans who rank among the best citizens and heaviest taxpayers in the city remained at the polls of their respective wards nearly all day, using every legitimate means to secure a fair election and a Republican victory." Consequently a Republican victory did follow.

THERE are indications in the Southern press that the inflation heresy has lost its hold on public sentiment in that section.

## THE CIVIL SERVICE EXPERIMENT.

The paper on the experiment of Civil Service Reform in the United States, read by the Hon. Dorman B. Eaton, before the members of the American Social Science Association, at Detroit, Mich., May 14, is one that has already received considerable attention by the public press, not only on account of the bad temper which pervades the document, but also on account of the wholesale denunciation of those who differ with him on the question of Civil Service Reform: There may be much said in support of the system which Mr. Eaton represented, but he should be charitable enough to allow others to hold opinions contrary to his own, without charging them with unworthy motives. A calm statesman-like review of the inception, the growth, the abandonment, of the so-called reform, would have been a valuable and interesting contribution to political literature. But the indiscreet, bad tempered, and unjust arraignment of those who deemed the so-called reform impracticable, was not only in bad taste but for one who seeks to elevate the tone of party politics, exceedingly out of place and injudicious.

As a specimen of the partisan attitude assumed by Mr. Eaton, we append the following extract from his introductory :

"The Administration—the party in power—the nation—have made an experiment of Civil Service Reform, and amid all the abuses, only diminished, it has been abandoned. The fair field of reform is deformed, obstructed, darkened by the somber ruin of this disastrous, humiliating experiment. The hopeful, patriotic spirit of the country is for the moment chilled; and the spoilsmen and the partisan leaders, more greedy by reason of a little fasting, and more impudent by reason of their triumph, look upon the future as all their own.

"They are now demanding the offices, and the profits of controlling them, and, if not resisted, will appropriate them as the spoils of victory over the civil service rules and all the friends of reform. If we have not been mistaken as to the need of better administration—if we are not prepared to tamely surrender to the influences that have just triumphed—it is plain that our first duty is to comprehend the causes of our defeat, and to gather thence all possible instruction for the protection of the future. It is certain that the advocates of the partisan methods of be-

stowing office will claim that the experiment was abandoned only because all methods but their own were found impracticable—only because all reformers were shown to be visionary doctrinaires—only because all rules similar to those adopted are repugnant to our republican institutions—only because the party ought to be freely allowed to pay its way with spoils, and the present majority ought to be supreme under our system. These unwarranted claims cannot be put down by any simple denial or mere appeal to principles. They cannot, indeed, be refuted by any evidence short of that which shall present the facts, the motives, the influences, the policy, the recreancy, the neglects which led to the abandonment of the experiment.

"In short, the humiliating truth is—and it may as well be at once stated—that the defeat and abandonment of the civil service rules were without justifiable excuse, involved the breach of a public pledge, and are a national disgrace."

No one who has examined this experiment, studied its progress, and noted its many serious defects, can endorse the above statement of Mr. Eaton. Like other enthusiastic individuals, bent on reform, he has fallen into the grave error of believing that his plan and his plan only, is the true one; and, as a logical sequence, all others must be false. On no other theory can we account for his extraordinary assertions—assertions that are as wide from the facts as the facts are from fiction itself. The abandonment of the so-called reform may be a source of deep regret to Mr. Eaton, and to others who had centered their hopes on its continuance, but the direful results which he relates have not followed its taking off. "The fair field of reform" is not "deformed," "obstructed," or "darkened by the sombre ruin of this disastrous, humiliating experiment." That conclusion is a poetical one, and in keeping with the extravagant assertion that "The hopeful, patriotic spirit of the country is for the moment chilled." All this is sheer nonsense. The people saw so little to approve in the late Civil Service Reform movement that the abandonment of the expensive and impracticable system has produced about as much disturbance of public opinion as a pebble would if dropped in mid-ocean. To call the suspension of a mere experiment—

so acknowledged by Mr. Eaton himself—"a breach of public faith, and a national disgrace," is to abuse the use of language.

The only dispassionate portion of Mr. Eaton's paper was the one devoted to explaining the rules and regulations of the late Civil Service Reform. It would have been better for the system, and more creditable to Mr. Eaton, if he had commenced and ended his paper with the presentation of the rules and general outline of the reform—leaving his hearers to form their own estimate on their value as a means of elevating the service. But he had opened his batteries on all unbelievers, and he could not resist the temptation of keeping up the fire. He charged intrigue, duplicity, hypocrisy, all manner of wicked designs on the managers of the party, who, according to Mr. Eaton, saw in this reform movement the death of their mercenary ambition. When we take into consideration the fact, that the rules and regulations of the Civil Service had been in force over three years, the following view of the political situation is far from complimentary to the reform that was to do away, by its presence and example, the political evils here depicted by Mr. Eaton:

"Confident and arrogant from the long possession of power, the party had more and more fallen under the control of leaders and officers given over to partisan and mercenary ambition. Sad evidence of this was on every hand. The unworthy officers and the scandalous abuses which disgraced the Administration in several of the reconstructed States; the mercenary greed and arbitrary methods of revenue officials, which alarmed and alienated the most upright citizen at the great financial centers; the confusion and flagrant disregard of economy and justice, at the very doors of Congress, in that district where its power was supreme; the disclosures made by the *Crédit Mobilier* disclosures which damaged so many fair reputations, and tainted the whole atmosphere of national politics; the so-called "Salary Grab," which showed how disastrous it is for party managers to fall below the moral tone of those they attempt to lead; these are but specimens of the many proofs of a demoralization in the dominant party perilous to any measure whose strength is in public virtue.

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"In narrower spheres and meaner ways the same debauched sentiment was equally manifested. The local organs of official and

caucus demagogues, which, to get votes in 1872, had lauded the reform and its authors, now declared it to be finical, impracticable, useless—the production of theorists and doctrinaires who desired to promote bright schoolmasters and to depress party patriots. Notorious champions of Sanborn contracts and moiety spoilsmen, in the pretended interests of the soldier and of patriotism, attacked the rules which the great General of the Army had promulgated, and which the resolutions of their party had two years before declared to involve the fate of the country.

"Little demagogues and sinecure officials everywhere tried to make it appear that the Civil Service Commissioners were alone responsible for the rules, and insisted that those who stood by a public pledge and for a public duty, rather than those who connived at repudiation and sighed for a return of the spoils system, were fit subjects of ridicule and pity. While one set of partisans daily besieged the President and the members of the Cabinet with dolorous complaints of party losses of funds and of places by reason of the rules which forbid assessments upon clerks and gave appointments to merit, another set filled the journals and the air with statements that the reform was so narrow and the rules so loose that they were unworthy the support of a great party—indeed, only deserved the contempt of men ready to fight like hyenas over every appointment to a country post office, to a village collectorship, or to a seashore lighthouse."

France in the midst of a revolution, fell short of this dreadful picture sketched by the President of the late Civil Service Reform. If such a state of public demoralization has existed in this country we have been ignorant of the fact, and we venture to assert that it will be news to most of the people. There was no strong influence brought to bear against Mr. Eaton's pet scheme of reform; there was no clamoring for the abandonment of the system on the part of party managers or any one else; the President was not besieged by partisans, nor were the members of the cabinet called upon to listen to the "dolorous complaints of party losses of funds and places by reason of the rule which forbids assessments upon clerks and gave appointments to merit," all this is in keeping with the high coloring which characterizes most of the statements in this remarkable paper. The system failed because it lacked the merit to make it a success. It was found, after a fair trial by those

who were friendly to it, to be, not only expensive, but in its leading features impracticable. It was inconsistent with the Democratic character of our government and repugnant to the liberal sentiments of our people. If it had been continued it would have led to greater abuses than those it sought to remove. It would have established a bureaucracy more potent in its influence for evil than the so-called spoils systems, so loudly condemned by Mr. Eaton. It will require something more than mere assertion to convince the American people, that a select few, composing local boards, would be less liable to become corrupt in the distribution of patronage than the President and the heads of the various departments, into whose hands the Constitution has wisely lodged the appointing power. It will require some better system than the one which made the possession of a few printed slips containing questions in geography, history, mathematics and grammar, the key to open wide the door of appointments, to convince the intelligent citizen that the representatives of the people are so mercenary and corrupt as to be unfit to name a proper man or woman for office, and yet competent to pass upon legislation which is to govern the nation, and appropriate millions of money for the support of its officials. We assure Mr. Eaton, that when such a conviction is forced upon the American people no Civil Service Commission can command the confidence betrayed. The loss of confidence in the higher authority would be followed by distrust of every power which emanated from it. In our opinion when the time comes that the average Congressman cannot make a recommendation for office without being suspected of corrupt or unworthy motives, not only the civil service, but the whole system of government will require a radical change. The time, however, has not yet come for the adoption of any aristocratic system for the Civil Service, or autocratic system for the government of the nation. The Civil Service of the United States, under the old system of appointments, with all of its defects, is equal, in point of integrity and capacity, to any in the world. It has suffered some from

peculation and fraud, but the percentage of loss to the government has been extremely small. We feel safe in saying, that as compared with the mercantile service, the public service ranks it in point of integrity, and is at least equal to it in point of capacity. Therefore, we regard the unmeasured denunciations of Mr. Eaton, of a system that has proven so effective in its practical workings as little short of an insult to the intelligence of the people. To characterize so worthy a system, rich with the fruits of honesty and patriotism, as "a system of spoils," is to permit reason to be led captive by prejudice, and to close one's ears and eyes to the facts of history.

But Mr. Eaton is not satisfied with the arraignment of the system which permits a Congressman's recommendation to have some weight in the appointment of an official, but considers it his duty to hold up the President for his share of the responsibility in the abandonment of the so-called Civil Service Reform. This is unkind, for the President did all that could be done consistent with his oath of office, to make the system a success. He had pledged himself to give it a fair trial. He had stood by it faithfully, long after many of its original friends had pronounced it a failure. He called upon Congress to support it, and enlarge its field, long after Congress had lost faith in its practicability, and he clung to it until the last Congress, by refusing further to sanction it, ended its misdirected efforts at reform. If it had fulfilled its early promises, the people would have been quick to discover its value, and its permanency would have been assured. But it failed after three years trial, and the refusal by Congress to waste further money in its support, was the reflection of public sentiment, and the emphatic No! of the people.

In speaking of the share of responsibility which rests upon the President, Mr. Eaton says:

Even if the greater responsibility for the disaster rests upon Congress and the party managers, it may be asked if the President had been without fault. Though by no means able to justify the extreme and indiscriminate censure bestowed upon him—es-



pecially by those influential journals which at one time did so much for Civil Service Reform, but whose disaffection did as much to weaken it after the Presidential election. I yet hold it true that the President gave sad occasion for criticism and that he has been the cause of most of the trouble the reform has cost him. It may be doubted whether, when he entered upon the work, he took the full measure of its difficulties, or anticipated the need of so much self denial and so much resistance of solicitation as it was sure to demand. The language of his first message on the subject, which says that the purification "of the Civil Service will be hailed with approval by the whole people of the United States," is at least far from what an experienced politician would have anticipated; for not a few of the people desired the spoils system to continue, and were as much opposed to such purification as burglars are to a good police, or slaveholders were to emancipation. It was, for the ease and success of the President's reform, a first condition that he should always stand firmly by its natural friends, and sternly repulse its natural enemies. To accomplish such a reform, he needed the zeal, the self denial, and the persistency of the true reformer. He must not only be beyond reproach, but beyond reasonable criticism, in the disinterestedness and wisdom of his appointments. He must allow no doubt of the inflexibility of his resolution—of the sincerity of his motives—of the disinterestedness of his action. No one can claim that he substantially fulfilled these conditions. Sometimes to those near him by the ties of blood, oftener to those near him by the ties of friendship, he was obviously partial. In striking cases when the spirit but not the letter of the rules was involved, he sadly fell below the duties of his position, and gave his enemies dangerous opportunities of attack. Pressed by partisans, he did not as he might easily have done, wholly put a stop to assessments; and, yielding to his sympathy for the soldier, and to his love of obliging his friends, he tolerated departures from the rules in the lower grade of clerkships; but, far worse than all this, his unenthusiastic nature failed to give the impression of his real earnestness in the cause; and he never took it up with that stern resolution which its magnitude and the power of its adversaries demanded; never made those adversaries feel the force of that mighty will which on other fields had made his enemies tremble, and inspired his friends with courage and confidence. Public confidence was withdrawn.

This extract from Mr. Eaton's paper is refreshingly cool. To denounce those who opposed the system from its inception, might

have some show of consistency to sustain it; but to read a lecture to the one man, above all others, who imparted to it whatever life it had, is, to our mind, little short of ingratitude. It is very kind in Mr. Eaton to say that he was not "able to justify the extreme and indiscriminate censure bestowed upon the President," but it would have been kinder still if he had said nothing about it. Where are "the influential journals," which, according to Mr. Eaton, have bestowed upon the President extreme and indiscriminate censure? We have failed to see them. It might have suited the enthusiastic friends of the late Civil Service if President Grant had stood by "its natural friends,"—Mr. Eaton and a few others—"and sternly repulsed its natural enemies,"—Congress and the American people generally; but it would have been hardly in keeping with the dignity of the office or the duties of the President. It is possible that the President has not "the zeal, the self-denial, and the persistency of the true reformer," as intimated by Mr. Eaton, but the people will require better evidence than that afforded by the abandonment of Civil Service Reform, before they pass upon these elements of his character. That "he has yielded to his sympathy for the soldier" in his appointments to office, may be offensive to those reformers who have no sympathy for the cause which these soldiers risked life to serve; but this pardonable weakness will not invite "the extreme and indiscriminate censure" of which Mr. Eaton speaks; especially on the part of those influential journals which represent the loyal sentiment of the country, and which regard sympathy for the soldier as evidence of a patriotic devotion to the Republic. We believe that the generous impulse of the nation would readily respond to any Civil Service Reform that gave prominence to the soldier element, all other things being equal. If a man has the elements requisite for official position—honesty, capacity, industry—and a good record as a soldier in the Union service, he should have the preference over all other applicants, for the country owes him a larger debt of gratitude than it does those who looked on in

silence, or those who sympathized with its enemies. For this reason we opposed that feature of the so-called reform, which placed upon the same footing those who fought under their country's flag and those who fought against it. The nation owes a debt to the one class, it owes nothing to the other. To those who were true to the country when fidelity was the only safeguard of liberty, the government should extend the cordial grasp of recognition and confidence. It is a false sentiment that teaches us to forget the sacrifices of our fathers and brothers, and to close our eyes to the just claims which they, while living, have upon a government they helped to save. The spirit of reconciliation does not call for ingratitude. We should remember that justice is a nobler attribute than magnanimity, and that no system, however plausible, deserves to succeed, that tramples under foot the just claims of a friend, in order to secure the fickle smiles of an enemy. The same principle, with hardly less force, applies to party appointments. We would not sacrifice the slightest governmental interest to party expediency, but we would have appointed to office those who believe that the party in power best represents the wants and sentiments of the nation, provided men can be found within our own ranks having the requisite honesty and ability. As soon as we show to the people that those who are elected by them, favor a system that appoints to office men whom they defeated at the polls, we introduce an element of demoralization into politics which prevents organization, and eventually kills the party that permits it. Would-be-reformers may dream of the good time coming when political antagonism shall be unknown; when parties shall no longer exist; when all mankind shall be united in one strong bond of mutual interest and friendship: but that time has not yet come, and in our opinion, never will. We have vital principles to defend and uphold. For the better support and defence of these we have a grand party organization, and any system that tends to lower its discipline, or break down its safeguards, or weaken its leaders, or demoralize its rank and file, exposes its vital

principles to defeat and destruction. This was the fatal tendency of the Civil Service experiment; it acted as a blight upon the party; it chilled the enthusiasm of the young citizens who believed Republicanism better than Democracy. It brought about by its conservative example that fatal apathy which lost to our cause, States that are to-day numerically in our favor. "If no distinction should be drawn between Democrats and Republicans in appointments to office, why should there be any drawn at the polls?" This has been the question which our party followers have asked under the shadow of this misnamed reform.

But let us examine a few of the leading features of the system which Mr. Eaton so stoutly defends, and for the failure of which he calls the party to so severe an account. In the first place, its machinery was expensive. It called for new offices, for the purpose of supervising appointments to old ones. It entailed unnecessary expense on those seeking to enter the service, by requiring them to appear at certain points for examination. The expenses of a long journey, hotel bills, &c., might be justified in the case of the one who was fortunate enough to distance his competitors, but with the ninety and nine who failed, they were sources of bitter regret and inconvenience. The practical effect of the system was to confine appointments to certain localities where the local boards were established, or to entail unnecessary expense upon those living at a distance. Either way, its application was unjust. Let us briefly examine the competitive feature of the so-called reform—for this we regard as the only clear cut, distinctive feature in the whole system which had sufficient originality about it to merit the name of reform.

Its purpose was to elevate the service, by securing for it the best talent in the country, or rather, the best of that which should apply for admission. Was it calculated to do this? If it was, then the system was a meritorious one; if it was not, then it was a useless and extravagant one. We claim—and we base our opinion on experience and observation—that the competitive feature of the late Civil Service Reform was not calcula-

ted to secure what its advocates promised—the best men for the service. If an educational qualification was the only one requisite for a public official, a competitive examination might tend to secure the men best fitted for the service. But there are so many other qualifications necessary, absolutely essential, that to give prominence to an educational test, is to neglect others of greater importance. Any one who has a practical knowledge of the Government service, knows that the work to be performed, by nine officials out of ten, does not require the highest degree of education, nor is an official any more valuable to the Government by possessing it. A dozen men may be called upon to compete for a certain position; that position requires a fair English education, a good stock of common sense, sound judgment, and, above all these, undoubted integrity. One man leads all the others; he has a better knowledge of geography, history, mathematics; proves himself, so far as book-knowledge goes, a finished scholar. Standing the highest on the list of competitors, he is regarded as the man best fitted to fill a public office. If his certificate of character is acceptable, he is selected and appointed in preference to any of the eleven who fell behind in the examination. The Government is satisfied on one point only—it has secured the man who knows most about geography, history, and mathematics. Yet the man is put upon work where neither of these sciences is called into service. His examination has developed proficiency in certain branches unnecessary to the service, and overlooked the more important qualifications; it has obtained no knowledge of the man's judgment, common sense, integrity, faithfulness, adaptability to the peculiar work required of him; it has simply demonstrated the fact that the man could answer more technical questions than his competitors; and, on this fact alone, he is presumed to be the best man for the service. But practical experience with the business world upsets this assumption. A high educational qualification is not always found combined with business tact and energy. In fact, we believe the world's experience will bear us out in saying, that the combination

of business talent and high intellectual attainments is rather the exception than the rule of life. Nor is this to be wondered at, when we consider that great excellence in any branch requires profound attention and study, a devotion to the one thing sought after, that naturally causes other things to be neglected. Therefore, we may set it down as almost a rule, that great scholars are generally poor business men. Of course there are exceptions, but they are exceedingly rare. Therefore, to introduce an educational test, and this competitive in its character, into the Civil Service, was simply to secure to the service the best scholars, without reference to their business qualifications. Herein lay the defective feature of the reform which certain individuals sought to introduce as a permanent system into the Civil Service of the country.

That the system failed to prove acceptable to the American people, and was finally abandoned, was not due to the interference of politicians, as Mr. Eaton asserts, but to the common sense reflection of the people themselves, who saw in this complicated method of securing appointees, an increase of expenditures for new offices, and the eventual establishment of a bureaucracy, more burdensome in its effects than the Civil Service defects which it sought to remove. It was not true reform—it was such only in name, and for this reason it failed, as other like systems must fail whenever presented, because it lacked the substance which was necessary to ensure its stability.

Considerable stress has been laid upon that feature of the system which prevented assessments being levied upon Government officials, for political purposes. The friends of the late Civil Service Reform would have the country believe that up to the introduction of the new system office holders were continually oppressed by heavy assessments made upon them by the managers of the party in power. This is a misstatement of the facts as they existed. No assessment, or more properly speaking, request to contribute to the legitimate expenses of a campaign, ever had the force of law, or was considered binding upon the party to whom it was addressed. Whatever was given by an official, was given

freely, as a voluntary contribution. No threat, or intimation of dismissal, ever accompanied these requests to office holders. Those who wanted to contribute, did so of their own free will. It may be true, that some contributed through a desire to keep in favor with those who wielded political influence, but their numbers were small, and were generally found among those who were believed to be opposed to the party in power. The majority of those who contributed to the campaign funds, did so through a high sense of duty. It was a privilege to them, not a task. But thousands of officials never contributed a cent. Some were unable to give, others lacked the inclination, and we challenge any friend of the late Civil service Reform, so-called, to refer to a single dismissal from the public service, under the fourteen years' administration of the Republican party, based upon the refusal or failure to contribute to the expenses of a political campaign.

Yet Mr. Eaton would have the public believe that official decapitation followed the refusal to contribute, and that every member of Congress had a certain number of officials whom he could pluck to any amount to meet his private electioneering expenses. It is possible, that out of the great number of government officials, a few might be found who had been imposed upon by those who claimed to exercise influence over them, but to select these victims of designing men, as illustrations of the bad character of the system under which they occurred, is equal to shouldering upon the church the wrong perpetrated in secret, by one of its unworthy members. It is possible that Mr. Eaton has a knowledge of cases wherein the official has been plundered by the politician, but the experience and observations of twelve years have brought not a single case to our attention. Therefore we regard the doleful statements of Mr. Eaton on this point as unwarranted by the facts presented. The practice of calling for contributions for political purposes is as old as the government itself. To prosecute a Presidential campaign requires money. The publication of documents, the services and expenses of

public speakers, the many items incidental to a political canvass, covering thirty-seven States, call for large expenditures of money by both parties. Somebody must contribute toward the funds needed. Patriotic citizens are called upon; many respond with liberality, both in office and out. There can be no good reason why the office-holder should not share with others the light burden of the battle. If the people are asked to contribute, why should the office-holder be exempted? Surely there is neither wisdom nor common sense in a rule which makes it unlawful for an official to respond to a call for a contribution, and yet lawful and even praiseworthy for the same official to go begging around among the people for the money needed to prosecute the legitimate work of the canvass. Yet this was the practical effect of the late Civil Service experiment. It sought to shoulder upon the people the entire burdens of a political campaign, and to shield government officials from assuming a share of the responsibility which ought to attach to every citizen, especially to those who enjoy the benefits and emoluments of office.

If it is right to expend money for the legitimate and necessary work of a campaign, it is right to ask for contributions to meet the expenditures. If it is right to ask those who are not office-holders to contribute it cannot be wrong or improper to ask those who are. Political work, as well as religious work, requires money to sustain it and those most interested in the success of the labor should freely contribute toward the expenses of those who perform it. We do not wonder that the plan offered by the Civil Service reform to stop political contributions failed; we only wonder that it was tolerated for three years, and that during a period when our opponents were waging a bitter war against us, and documents and speakers were needed to counteract the moral poison which they were spreading broadcast over the land.

But aside from these objectionable features, the practical application of the prescribed rules and regulations was a failure. When vacancies occur in any department, it

is a matter, oftentimes of great importance, that they should be filled without delay. Under the rules of the late reform, this could not be done—a notice must be given for an examination on a certain day and at a certain place. Long and vexatious delays followed the examinations before any report was made. Valuable time was lost in securing an official, whose services, in the absence of these rules, could have been secured in a few hours or days. It is true that good men entered the service under these regulations, and it is equally true that bad ones crept in. The rules and regulations were found, by experience, to be no positive protection to the service. On this score they were no improvement on the old ones. In their application to promotions they failed in even a greater degree. The most faithful and deserving officials were not advanced under them. In many instances, old clerks, who from close application to their duties, had grown rusty in the branches of knowledge required, refused to enter the list of competition with those who had crammed themselves at the expense of the service, or were fresh from the school or college. Thus some of the truest and most capable clerks in the departments saw no hope of advancement under these rules and regulations. The testimony of their superior officers, to their individual merit passed for naught—in fact was not permitted. They must appear for competition and if they fell behind in the examination—and this on questions foreign to their duties, they must remain behind in the office, although the work required of them was beyond the capacity of their successful rivals. This was the practical effect of the regulations, and though many deserving promotions may have been made under them, many others were made at the expense of those more deserving. Therefore as a practical system, designed to elevate the public service, and to advance the meritorious officials in it, the Civil Service Reform, so-called, fell far short of its promises, far short of the expectations of those who were friendly to it, and who believed it to contain, if not the letter, at least the spirit of true reform.

But the Civil Service experiment is ended, thanks to the President and the good sense of the American people, and but for the ungenerous attack by Mr. Eaton on those who differed with him on its practicability and value, we should have remained silent on the question, and permitted its defects to sleep in the grave of other reforms which have been tried and found wanting.

If the reform which was sought but teaches its impressive lesson to other reformers, that no subordinate branch of the Government can arrogate to itself all of public virtue, without seriously impairing public confidence in its integrity and usefulness, it will be worth all it cost as an experiment.

We have faith in the system of appointments, which has stood the test of years, and which has furnished honest and capable men for the service of the Government. It may have its defects, but they can be remedied by exercising a little more care and judgment on the part of those vested with the appointing power, and those who are called upon to make recommendations for office. The standard of integrity cannot be placed too high. If any competitive system can improve this we shall hail it as the dawn of a true reform. But personal knowledge, actual experience, are the only means whereby honesty can be discovered. Wherever found, if combined with average ability, whether it comes from the farm, the workshop, or the college, it should find the doors of the Civil Service open to receive it.

The New York *World* mourns over the enormous evils of the liquor traffic. And now shall we see the *World's* party taking any attitude in favor of temperance?

AN Exchange says that the man who does not see that a military ring, composed of ex-Confederate officers, is successfully at work in the South gaining control of the Democratic party, is simply blind. The best men are shoved aside in all political contests, and the fire-eaters of the "lost cause" and the heroes of the rebellion are put forward, as the recent illustration of Ben. Hill's triumph in Georgia shows.

## SOCIETY IN THE SOUTH.

It is well for mankind that all persons do not see and think alike; yet in some matters this difference of taste and character has its disadvantages. "Put yourself in his place" is a popular phrase of great value but little practiced. If it were practically applied a little oftener, it would save much of the misunderstanding resulting from difference of opinion. The Southern question has unfortunately been thus misrepresented and misunderstood, from one class of writers making statements of the condition of affairs directly opposite to those made by another class. Yet both statements may be true—though each is misunderstood by the other class because each fails to put himself in the other's place.

We are startled by reports of anarchy and bloodshed from various sections of the South, and we hear from some friend in whom we have utmost confidence, everything is quiet and life and property are as safe as anywhere in the North. Again, we hear from another acquaintance of the strong prejudice against Northerners, of their ostracism and persecution, and then comes a letter from some noted abolitionist overflowing with extravagant praises of the warmth and friendliness of the Southerners to Yankees—even to him the worst of Radicals.

The writer having experienced both of these phases of Southern life, will endeavor to explain to each of these opposing writers where he is wrong and the other right.

Here is Dr. Gulielmus Brigantius who has been a life-long opposer of slavery, one of the most active in denouncing the rebellion, and in aiding the Union cause with his powerful pen, his speeches and his purse. It may be he was the bitterest of those loyalists who called for blood and revenge upon the leaders, when the rebellion was overthrown. Perplexed by the conflicting reports from the reconstructed States he resolves to take the occasion of a winter vacation and run through the South and see for himself what the feeling is and learn the truth of the matter. "Surely," he says, "I, the bitterest of their opponent's, will be met with that ostracism and hatred, if any one is, for I

know I have never said anything kindly of the scoundrels." He believes the Southern people are a hot-blooded race, made cruel and savage by the education of slavery. He believes the reports of Ku-Klux outrages to be true, and says, therefore, "I think I will carry my pistols well loaded, and get some letters of introduction from some of my Democratic friends; the latter may act as propitiatory and prevent the necessity of the former."

Armed with these weapons of defence, he sets out for the Sunny South with many misgivings lest he should never return alive to the bosom of his family. On the steamer bound for Savannah, he meets Gen. Sumpter, a leading secessionist. The General is a scholarly gentleman, polite and elegant in his manners, who was abroad before the war, and hastened home to take part in it—an implacable enemy to the North, and severely cruel to his prisoners of war. He seeks an introduction to Dr. Brigantius, whose enmity during the war he professes to have known all about, and whose speeches and writings he has often read—or rather the denunciation of them and their author in the Southern papers. He professes to have been thoroughly reconstructed, and greets him warmly. "He is glad—very glad to meet him, and gladder still the Dr. is going to visit the South and find out for himself what the people are, and the true situation of affairs." All this he said to Dr. Gulielmus while he shook him warmly with both hands.

The General introduced him to several fellow-passengers—all Southerners, who courted, petted, and entertained the L.L.D. during the whole voyage, and before landing at Savannah, each had exacted a promise from him to visit them in their homes while on his tour. Such an opportunity for influencing a prominent Northerner could not be lost, and we may be sure no pains would be spared in making his visit at each place as pleasant as possible. And so it was—a carriage always at his disposal, and a constant round of entertainments and engagements



kept Dr. Gulielmus so occupied—it was almost impossible for any of the Northerners in the neighborhood to get to him or even see him alone for any length of time.

The Hon. Cicero Yanktus was an old friend of the Dr. in the North, who had come South after the war and engaged in raising cotton near Savannah. He came to settle, invested all his money and made it his home. He was one of those Northerners with energy and capital that the South needed so much in her impoverished condition, and was, therefore, welcomed with open arms, driven around in their carriages to see the various eligible sites for sale, feasted and entertained in the same manner Dr. Brigantus is at present. In fact, Yanktus was so captivated by their hospitality and kind attentions, every mail carried away his letters filled with praises and encomiums of the generosity and hospitality of Southerners, and how gladly and warmly Northern settlers were welcomed. One of the first things he did, after purchasing a place and hiring a large number of freedmen, was to open a day school for the colored children, and a night school for the laborers. Mr. Yanktus visited his neighbors—those who had received him so kindly—to solicit their co-operation in the school. Some sneered—it was no use trying to teach them anything. Some promised—it was right they should be educated now they were free. Some refused—they saw no use in teaching such a lot of miserable vagabonds. The school went on, however, without any of their assistance, Mr. Yanktus bearing the whole expense, and often assisting in the night department himself.

He was no longer invited to his neighbors' houses or visited by them, unless they wanted to borrow a plow or a cart for a day or two. They all kept aloof, and he heard from all sides the sneers and slurs cast upon him by those who had at first welcomed him so cordially.

The school increased rapidly as it was almost absolutely free to all, and the Hon. Cicero Yanktus often took occasion to lecture the adults on their shiftless and immoral habits, reading and explaining the Holy Scriptures to them, choosing such portions generally as touched upon their prevailing

sins. In due time the elections came round, and the freedmen earnestly besought him to tell them something about "leekshun" and "votin'." He even agreed to accept the office of *Justice of the Peace* in his district to please the poor freedmen. This was the final step that completed his ruin. The slurs and sneers of his elegant neighbors were changed to curses, and the curses to threats against the "d—d Yankee carpet-bagger associating with niggers, filling their heads with nonsense, and making them discontented and insolent." Without ever having entered into political discussion, or giving expression to one single unkind thought against any of his neighbors, there had arisen in these few years the most violent hostility not only to the Hon. Cicero, but to all his family, and even the hands he employed. Even remarks in private conversation were falsified and misrepresented, and trumpeted abroad in the newspapers; items of private and personal business were publicly reported and commented upon by the press, and everything concerning the Northern settlers was held up to scorn and ridicule. Any quarrel or disturbance among the freedmen on his place was reported with great exaggeration in all the papers, while fights occurring almost daily among his neighbors' hands were never mentioned, or, if of a serious nature resulting in shooting or stabbing of any of them were barely alluded to. The Hon. Cicero did all he could to prevent this resorting to arms in settlement of private wrongs and differences; urging a recourse to the civil courts. But in no case would a white jury ever decide in favor of him or his hands, however just and clear their cause. The grand jury never failed to report the slightest disturbance amongst the Yankee's hands, while they never took any notice of those in other parts of the county unless some white man was the sufferer; and no white man was ever punished for an offence against a colored man, and no colored man was ever acquitted of any charge from a white man. Under such circumstances the "carpet-bagger" retires more and more within himself, and seldom leaves his plantation. However, he is anxious to see his old friend Dr. Brigantus, and calls a number of times, but always finds



him engaged. At length, however, he meets him and warm greetings are exchanged.

After a few general questions and answers on both sides, the doctor cries out, "Why! Cicero, where can you be living to be so long coming to see me, and to write such 'blood and thunder' stories to the 'Eagle,' as I read last month?"

Cicero Y.—"Not a mile away from here, doctor, and this is the sixth time I have called and left a card or a note for you."

Dr. B.—"Why that is singular, I have not received them."

Cicero Y.—"I understand it fully, and you would if you should stay here awhile; can't you come and spend a week with me?"

Dr. B.—"I wish I could, for I like these people here very much; you have some fine neighbors, Cicero, they do not seem to countenance the proceedings you wrote of to the Eagle."

Cicero Y.—"Don't? they were the very men—"

At this moment entered Col. Dearborn, a prominent Southern officer, and a member of the Confederate Congress, warmly grasping the Dr.'s hand, he welcomed him to the sunny South, and presented him in behalf of some lady friends a beautiful bouquet of Southern flowers. After some general remarks, he turned to Mr. Yanktus, gushingly, "Why! how do you do, Mr. Yanktus! I have not seen you in a long time; where do you keep yourself?"

Cicero Y.—"At home, on the plantation; have hardly been off from it for three years."

Col. D.—"Well, you must be more neighborly; come over and see us;" then, without waiting for a reply, he turns to Dr. Brigantius and enters into conversation. Mr. Y. hastily withdraws, not being able to explain to his old friend, the doctor, that the elegant gentleman, now visiting him, was a murderer (of a colored man) and the father of several mulatto children. Dr. Brigantius never would suspect this from the Colonel's manner, or that a week before, he had, in a speech, denounced the Hon. Cicero Yanktus as a villain and scoundrel, not fit to live, who ought to be tarred and feathered, and strung up.

Fully impressed with the idea that Col. D.

was what he pretended to be, and that he was a specimen of the aristocracy of the South, as he claimed he was, Dr. Brigantius enjoys a good two-hours visit with him, in which the rebel side of reconstruction and the status of the "negro" is smoothed over him again for the fifteenth time.

In the evening he takes the train for Montgomery and Mobile, fully persuaded his old friend Yanktus is a rabid Radical, who is greatly mistaken in his estimate of the character of the Southern gentlemen. In Montgomery he finds letters from his new friends in Savannah have preceded him, and a prominent Southerner at the depot with a carriage waiting to carry him to his country seat a short distance out of the city.

Prof. Pickens insisted so gracefully and cordially, the doctor could not refuse without appearing rude. The first topic of conversation always on a Southerner's lips, and which a Northerner always avoids, if possible, is the political situation, and the feelings existing between the various sections of the country.

The Professor said he had been a red-hot secessionist, but he accepted the situation, and was thoroughly reconstructed, and longed to see a return of harmony and good feeling. He deprecated the strife of political parties, and wished the agitators were all hung for the benefit of society. Dr. Brigantius heartily seconded these sentiments, and then acknowledged the fears with which he had started on his Southern trip, but so far he had met with nothing but kindness; was even surprised to find the very men he expected to insult and avoid him, were the ones to pay him most attention, and receive him most cordially.

Prof. P.—"I have no doubt, doctor, but you believed all the stories of Ku-Klux murders and outrages before you came here, and I am glad you will be able to return and say they are all falsehoods just as we who live here know them to be. The fact is the only Ku-Klux we know of are the colored men. They go about on drunken sprees, flourishing their guns and knives, and fighting amongst themselves; and when they shoot or wound one another, a wail goes up in the Radical press

of Ku-Klux outrages. The fact is, doctor, the whites are afraid of the freedmen, and seldom go out after dark; and never unarmed. It was not always so, but since these political hucksters, we call *carpet-baggers*, came into the country exciting the freedmen to strife and revenge, there is no peace for whites or blacks; is it not so, Joe?"

"Well, I recon dat's 'bout de truf, massa!" answered the coachman. "I has no use for sich low down white trash."

"Joe was an old slave of mine," continued the Professor, "but would not leave me for any of the adventurers that came along."

The doctor ventures a leading question to Joe. "Would you rather be a slave again, Joe, or stay free?" "Oh, I'd heap rather be free, massa, tho' times is oudaciously harder now dan when we all 'as on de ole place." "Why, do you prefer to be free then Joe?" Oh, you see, massa, we kin do as we likes now, and go where we pleases. We all likes Mas' Professor, dough, so we stays right yher."

The doctor is satisfied now; he has seen both sides of the question, conversed with white and colored, and has learned the truth. But the doctor forgets he is but a visitor, and visitors see only the *company manners* of persons. If the doctor had taken the trouble to slip across the fields to a freedman's settlement that night, he would have heard Joe tell a different story. But how was the doctor to know Joe had been "primed," and promised a silver-headed cane, if he would talk "all right" to the visitor? It is a failing of the freedmen this love for nice canes and silver watches, and not one out of a hundred would refuse to say anything to get one. Not knowing this, the doctor joins in the aspersion of Northern settlers, denouncing the "carpet-baggers" in the same terms his wiley entertainers did. A constant round of entertainments night and day keeps him so occupied, he is again unable to talk with any of the Northern settlers alone, except for a few moments. The colored servants and laborers carry to their night school reports of the discouraging remarks and slurs cast by the distinguished visitor upon the

carpet-bag teachers, and no wonder these missionaries from the North stay away from Dr. Gulielmus. No one likes to visit a friend in the house of an avowed enemy, especially when we hear the friend sides with the enemy against us in the matter of dispute. So the doctor goes on his way from one place to another the same convincing circumstances, meeting him everywhere; because the Northern emigrants are confined at home by their work, and the Southern gentlemen have nothing else to do but visit, and hunt, and amuse themselves. The latter always speak of the former, unless they happen to be present at the time, as low, common people who fraternize and associate with the lowest and vilest class of society; "and what," they ask, "would people in polite society in the North think of persons who never went anywhere except to the lowest dens of infamy, and who associated only with the dregs of white society? Would you want to invite such people to your house?" Could the doctor say anything but "No, most assuredly not."

But the doctor, to learn the reason of such association ought to visit these Northern settlers in their homes, or see and hear the Southerners talk and act in their every-day dress. He would find the reviled carpet-baggers quiet, refined, intelligent people: men accustomed to work with their own hands; men with warm, sympathetic hearts who mind their own business, but are willing to listen to tales of wrong and suffering, even though told by freedmen of the lowest degradation. If the doctor had not been so thoroughly monopolized by the dominant race, he would have taken a little more pains to see his fellow countrymen, who, with a truly missionary and martyr's spirit, were scattered here and there, working night and day to elevate the degraded race, by counsel, by advice, by example; teaching them in schools, assisting them in their religious meetings, exhorting them to lead moral and peaceable lives. This was the "fraternizing" and "degrading association" the doctor so unwittingly had learned from his new found friends to sneer at and denounce.

The Dr. proceeded on his way to New Or-

leans, letters again preceding him. There happen to be in Louisiana some Northern settlers whose whole time is not spent on their farms, and who take an active interest in the reconstruction of the State, not only morally but politically. They soon hear of Dr. Gulielmus Brigantius's arrival, and flock to see him. They are astonished to find him closeted with a number of the bitterest "fire-eaters." They wonder if he is of that ilk—having always supposed him to be a Republican. They are determined to let him know their situation, however, and show him their side of events. They remain long, hoping the rebel visitors will withdraw; but, besides having nothing else to do, they are too shrewd to leave their new tool a moment, lest he might rust, or have his edge nicked, and so the Union friends, in presence of their enemies, talk generalities, and finally are compelled to leave the enemy in possession of the Dr. All the prominent Southerners in the city vie with each other in doing the distinguished author honor; and it is only at the last moment of his stay he can find time to run around and see a few Northerners.

One of these, Gen. Fullerton, was a Union officer—who lost an arm in the service, and held a position in New Orleans as Collector of Internal Revenue. After a few general remarks, the Dr. cries out, "Why, General, what a muss you Radicals are kicking up all through the South!" "Ah?" says the General, with surprise, "well, I think the present muss is somebody else's making; we made ours about ten years ago."

Dr. G. B. — "Why do not the Northern settlers in the South combine with the respectable Southerners and keep things in better order?"

Gen. F. — "It is the *respectable* Southerners, as you call them, who will not combine, and who make all the fuss."

Dr. G. B. — "Why! everywhere I have been I find it just the reverse; there is Col. La Monte, and Col. Polk, and Capt. Green, and Gen. Lew, and Dr. Fronlette—all gentlemen of the highest culture—who assure me they would gladly use their influence to restore harmony of feeling."

Gen. F. — "I suppose the information you

have gained everywhere you have been was from just such gentlemen as you have named!"

Dr. G. B. — "Yes; the very first citizens of Georgia, Alabama and Louisiana. You know these I have named, do you?"

Gen. F. — "Yes, I do know them, only too well; and, if they are the style of Southern gentlemen you mean, I beg to be excused from uniting in their kind of peace measures."

Dr. G. B. — "You don't seem to admire them, General! I am sorry you do not know them as well as I."

Gen. F. — "How long have you known them, Dr.?"

Dr. G. B. — "Well, by reputation, several years, but have only met them the past week;"—rising, and looking at his watch.

Gen. F. — "Well, Dr., I have known them eight years, and could tell you things of them, if you had time to listen, that you would not believe."

Dr. G. B. — "Well, General, I am sorry I cannot see more of you; but you know we are all liable to be mistaken; you, probably, have only seen the worst side of them—at least Col. La Monte; he spoke very highly of you."

Gen. F. — "Humph! he didn't tell you about his assault upon me, crippled as I am; and my imprisonment?"

Dr. G. B. — "No, indeed; I should like to hear about it, but must go now, as I leave this evening, and have a great deal to do—so good bye; let me hear from you;" and the two part—Dr. Gulielmus thinking, how is it possible Gen. Fullerton can talk so extravagantly of such gentlemen; and what could he have done to La Monte to have made him so angry as to attack him; and Gen. Fullerton thought, how strange it is all of these Northern visitors are so easily "gulled,"—forgetting he was once "gulled" himself,—and wished he had told the Dr. how a colored man lied against him to the Col.—of the Colonel's attack, and his knocking him down; the trial, and his subsequent fine and imprisonment; how he was not allowed the benefit of the best bail in the city, and how La Monte was glorified for his cowardly attack; but it was too late now.

The Dr. spent the day in calling upon other acquaintances from the North. None of whom had more than time to express their convictions of the sentiments of the natives toward Northerners, without going into details of actual occurrences and proofs. "So, after all," he said to himself, "it is two men's opinions respecting each other—the weight of evidence resting with the most reliable man."

One other call the Dr. made must be recorded. It was upon Mr. Butler—a United States' Commissioner, from Vicksburg, who was in New Orleans on Government business. In the course of conversation he referred to the oft-repeated, and as often contradicted, statement that the Negro has no idea of gratitude. Judge Butler replied, "The freed-man's idea of gratitude is precisely that of every body else. We all estimate the favors we give much higher than those we receive. I invite a friend to a five dollar dinner—he cancels the imaginary obligation with a ten cent cigar; or I am bailed out of prison by my friend, and I return the favor, with interest, by a present of a fat turkey."

Dr. G. B. — "Ha! ha! Judge! you are complimentary to human nature. Are the freedmen very reliable?"

Judge B. — "How could they be, with their whole education directly opposed to it, generation after generation. Nine out of ten would swear to anything for fifty cents. Only last week one came before me and swore to a case of personal abuse; the facts in which I was perfectly cognizant of. I arrested the criminal, and called the darkey to testify, and he told the story directly reverse to his first statement."

Dr. G. B. — "Why did you not prosecute him for perjury?"

Judge B. — "Because I pitied the poor fellow's ignorance, and since then have learned he was intimidated by threats against his life if he continued the prosecution."

Dr. G. B. — "I was talking with a very intelligent colored man yesterday, who told me some horrid stories about you carpet-baggers."

Judge B. — "Yes; who was it?"

Dr. G. B. — "Davis—a colored preacher, I

believe. He said the Northern men who had come South were all rascals, and lived by cheating his people and quarreling with the whites."

Judge B. — "I know him! keeps a gambling house, where the *fashion* and *chivalry* congregate; I will warrant some of them hired him to make the statements he did."

Dr. Gulielmus Brigantius is shocked at the statement of the Judge. "Why, he seemed to me, Judge, to be a very gentlemanly sort of fellow—considerably above most of the colored men I have met; but are they all so irresponsible? If so, I think it a great shame they should be chosen to make laws and govern the educated whites."

Judge B. — "That's just the argument the rebels use against universal suffrage. The fact is, though, if the freedmen could have protection and justice in the courts from the white jury, they would never be chosen as law-makers by even their own color. Besides, it is only those of superior intelligence, or that are naturally quick-witted, who are chosen for office—generally their preachers."

Dr. G. B. — "Well, Judge, you are the first man in the South I have met who has taken that view of the matter; and perhaps you are right," and he departs; inwardly thinking, however, that he was all wrong. Little does he imagine as La Monte, Lew, Fronlette, and the other rebel gentlemen crowd around him at the depot to bid him adieu, that they are the very men who bribed Davis, and threatened the other man, to induce them to make the statements they did. He would not have believed it if he had been actually told so—they were so kind and fair and insinuating in their manner and conversation! He tries to excuse the few Northern men he has met for their severe strictures upon Southern gentlemen, on the ground that some wrong, inflicted by bad men, has prejudiced them against all, and they are not as competent to judge of the situation as he is, who has no prejudices, and has talked with all sides and parties and colors.

It is not strange the Dr. should, after his experience, write such glowing accounts of the South and the people he met; but if he

should settle down in any one place for several years, his story would have a different tone. He would look at things and men from the standpoint of a carpet-bagger. We have met the same warm reception from the Southern gentlemen. We have written the same glowing descriptions North of their hospitality and kindly welcome to Northerners. We have also invested all our means, and given up our whole time to developing the resources and improving the condition of the people in the South. We have befriended the freedmen; been ostracised and slandered, and persecuted and threatened for doing it. We have experienced the uselessness of depending upon the colored men openly before their old masters, and owe our lives to their assistance and friendship in secret service, against the very men they would slander us to in day-light. We have received the same injustice in the courts, had our own friends and relatives disbelieve our stories, and swallow the tales of Dr. Gulielmus and other strangers; and we doubt not every single Northern settler gone South since the war, has had exactly the same experience, and would be glad to return North, could they do so without sacrificing everything they have invested. Dr. Gulielmus Brigantius should have settled down for a few years, and put himself in the place of a Northern settler; he would then be able to see things from their standpoints, and the conflicting reports would be harmonized, the truth easily ascertained, and all misunderstanding and misrepresentation of the subject be dispelled.

"L."

**WAR ISSUES.**—Southern Democrats complain that the people of the North keep alive the old issues of the war. Is it possible to forget these issues while Southern Democrats are seeking to reward those who tried to destroy the Government? If our friends of the South would have us forget the past, they must not revive its memories by persecuting Union men and rewarding Confederates. As long as the condition on which Southern favor can be had, is former devotion to the rebel cause, the issues of the war will be kept alive in the hearts of all loyal men. Let the South forget its folly and ignore its mad leaders, and we may forget the issues of the war.

**AN OLD LETTER.**—The following letter from Col. Richard Hampton to his brother, Maj. John Hampton, found among the papers of the late M. C. Causten, gives us an insight into "the times that tried men's souls." It is one of the curiosities of the American Revolution, and read in the light of to-day's civilization, does not indicate that we have lost much ground:

April 2d, 1871.

DEAR BROTHER:—For news I give you the following, viz: Bro. Wade has joined General Sumter, and has left all his property in the possession of the British and Tories; he now fights them hard. Brother Henry is raising a regular regiment of Light Horse, as also Col. Middleton, Hawthorn Hill. I have accepted the majority in Middleton's regiment. Brother Wade, I believe, will also raise a regiment. It will not be amiss to mention the terms on which they are to be raised, and the number each regiment is to consist of. The troops are to enlist for ten months, each regiment to have one Lieutenant, one Major, five Sergeants, ten Lieutenants; each company, two Sergeants, twenty-five privates; the pay to be as follows:

Each Colonel to receive three grown negroes and one small negro; Major to receive three grown negroes; Captain, two grown negroes; Lieutenants, one large and one small negro, the Staff, one large and one small negro; the Sergeants, one and a quarter negro; (a half negro was one under 10 years or over 40, a full negro being valued at \$400); each private, one grown negro; and to be furnished with one coat, two waistcoats, two pair overalls, two shirts, two pair stockings, one pair shoes and spurs, one horseman's cap, one blanket, (and one-half bushel of salt to those who have families); with two-thirds of all articles captured from the enemy except negroes and military stores; and salvage allowed them for all the articles belonging to our friends which we may capture from the enemy, and to be equipped with a sword, pistols, horse, saddle and bridle, &c. Should you meet with any young men who are willing to turn into this kind of service, you may assure them that the terms will be strictly complied with, and the General directs that any who may think proper to come out with the wagons in order to join the said service, are to be served with provisions for themselves and horses.

Brother Wade has brought one of your negro fellows with him (Jacob). We are all in high spirits.

I am, dear brother, yours sincerely,

R. HAMPTON.

## TAMMANY—THE HEART OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.\*

LONG FIGHT WITH CLINTON—VICTORIES AND DEFEATS—EARLY TAMMANY DEFAULTERS—SAM, SWARTWOUT AND IKE FOWLER—FEUDS IN THE FAMILY—BARN-BURNERS AND HUNKERS—HARDS AND SOFTS—FERNANDO WOOD—PEACE AND RECONCILIATION—RING DOMINATION—FOURTH OF JULY CELEBRATION BY PUBLIC ROBBERS—THE TAMMANY SOCIETY FURNISHES THE LEADING THIEVES OF THE COUNTRY.

DEWITT CLINTON was the reverse of Burr. He was outspoken, bold, honest, and altogether free in his criticisms of men and measures. Burr was secret, cautious, politic, unscrupulous, and loved to work in hidden places and through ignoble means. Clinton probably found that the Tammany Society was a machine in Burr's hands, and left it soon after filling the position of Scribe to the Council of Sachems—a position that gave him access to the inner workings of the concern. The society never forgave him for withdrawing, and pursued him even to the hour of his death with most rancorous vindictiveness. The death of Hamilton and the disgrace of Burr removed the two men who stood in the path of Clinton's political ambition. He knew that the seat of power was in the City of New York, and gave up a place in the United States Senate to be Mayor here. Clinton believed that Burr's act had fatally injured the influence of Tammany, and looked forward to an easy journey toward the Presidency. But just then there arose a feud in the ranks of the dominant party that altered the programme. The aristocratic, rich, and proud Livingston family, whose leaders had belonged in turn to all parties, were disgusted with the Clintons, looking upon them as adventurers and low people. But Clinton had endeavored to conciliate them, and allowed Morgan Lewis, who had married into the Livingston blood, to be chosen Governor. Lewis foolishly gave all the fat places at his disposal to "the royal family," as Clinton afterward called the Livingston's, and what was worse he appointed a number of Tammany sachems and warriors to office. The war between the Livingston and Clinton families brought Tammany to the front, and then, as now, misery and politics made strange bed-fellows.

\* New York Times, May 3.

Clinton went into treaty with his bitterest enemies, the Burrites, and a caucus was held, at which it was agreed to restore Burr to political favor and power, if Tammany would support Clinton. This caused a row in the wigwam, and the rank and file held an indignation meeting to denounce the act of their own leaders. Burr's departure on his Mexican venture, however, put him out of the case. Clinton charged, and doubtless with truth, that the Tammany leaders had acted in bad faith, and thenceforward he was at open and unceasing war with them, and the whole society.

The system of bargaining and buying and selling in politics was perhaps less practised then than now, but the Tammany gang had no difficulty in bringing Daniel D. Tompkins over to their side—and this Tompkins was at first Clinton's protégé. Having secured the Governor, (Tompkins,) of course Tammany secured the spoils, and every office, from Lake Erie to Montauk Point, was filled with Bucktails. Every effort was made by Tammany to drive Clinton out of the Republican party; but he was a hard man to drive, though he afterward left the party of his own free will, and took a Federalist nomination for the Presidency, to be overwhelmingly beaten by Madison. Without tracing the various steps, we find that Tammany had, as they supposed, done Clinton to political death, and great was their rejoicing. They had got him out of the Senate, out of the Governorship, and, after persistent effort, had achieved his worst humiliation—removal from the Mayoralty of New York. Never was any man more completely overthrown. He had not even money, for he never used power and office to fill his pocket. He was rejected by one party, unacknowledged by the other; out of office, out of influence, and even out of business. Tammany was elated. The man

it most hated and feared was effectually crushed out. The society monopolized Federal, State and City patronage; its sachems plethoric with fat things; the new hall (now the *Sun* office) just completed, was the admiration of the town and the political Mecca of the time. Rejoicings, rum and revelry rioted and ranted in the wigwam. Tammany was absolute in the city, and to make itself so in the State it made alliances with the shrewdest county leaders, and formed the famous Albany Regency, of which Martin Van Buren—a fair copy of Aaron Burr, without the audacity—was the leader. Van Buren began life as a Clintonian, but he soon went over to the Bucktails, and introduced his very effective system of party organization into the wigwam. Out of power, Clinton returned to his grand canal scheme. The war with Great Britain suspended consideration of that project, but as soon as peace came he renewed his writings on the subject. The canal became popular, and the Republican party that had so recently repudiated Clinton was forced to nominate him for Governor lest he might run on an independent platform and beat them. Tammany immediately brought out a Bucktail candidate against him, Peter B. Porter, who got 1,479 votes to 43,310 for Clinton. So the politically dead and buried “ditch-digger” once more rode into power by almost unanimous consent.

“Witt Clinton is dead,” St. Tammany said.  
And all the papposes with laughter were weeping;  
But Clinton arose and confounded his foes—  
The cunning old fox had only been sleeping.”

The war waged fiercer than ever. Clinton was vindictive to such an extent that he refused to invite the New York members of the Assembly to his receptions solely because they were all Tammany men. “The miserable Bucktails!” said he, “I’ll have nothing to do with them.” Van Buren now led the war against Clinton, and by his adroit management succeeded in beating the Governor in the Council of Appointment, in the organization of the Legislature, and other less important things. The Bucktails fought within the party, and in almost every struggle defeated the Clintonians. Tam-

many had been strongly against the canal scheme, ridiculing it outrageously. Van Buren saw that it was popular, and over went Tammany to its advocacy, denouncing the Clintonians for their lukewarmness in urging public works. Clinton was re-elected Governor, but the wily Bucktails had so far secured power for themselves, and undermined him, that he declined to run for a third time; a Bucktail was elected in his place, and Tammany was once more supreme.

One of the important movements of the Tammany leaders was for the revision of the Constitution and the extension of the elective franchise, by removing the property qualification—one of the main promises given out at the formation of the society, thirty years before. Their long delay in this movement is explained by the fact that Clinton was very strong with the poor classes, and especially with the Irish, of which race he came. Believing Clinton to be entirely out of the way, they went to work, and the first meeting in favor of a Convention was held in Tammany Hall in August, 1820, presided over by Stephen Allen, and attended by leading Bucktails throughout the State. The extension of the franchise brought a new element into the society; the old and steady leaders who were men of social standing and character, were gradually retired, and were succeeded by younger and strange men, who cared little for the organization except so far as they could use it to gain wealth and power. At first the sachems were very proud of the great addition to the voting strength of the party, but they soon found the claims of these mercenaries troublesome, and sincerely regretted that the franchise statutes had ever been altered.

A worse thing, however, was to be done by the Tammany sachems themselves. They could not forget nor forgive Clinton. He was out of power, and there was no prospect that he would ever trouble them again. It was only through their own supreme folly that he did. They had grasped every office within their reach, and the Legislature (of 1828) was about to adjourn, when some one remembered that Clinton was a Canal Commissioner, an office that brought him no pay, but in



which he was popular among the people. A resolution to remove him was adopted by a strict party vote, and the Tammany men left Albany happy in the thought that they had not only killed Clinton very dead, but most valorously kicked his political carcass into the dust-hole. This malicious insult to their great favorite, the people quickly and hotly resented. Indignation meetings were held; a People's Party was formed, and Clinton was again elected Governor by a great political tornado that shook Tammany to her foundations. Before the sachems could again make head against their great enemy, a resistless ally came to their aid in the form of death. Gov. Clinton settled back in his chair, after some hours of hard work, and died without a moment's notice, February 11, 1828.

After Clinton's death Tammany entered upon a long and prosperous career. The name Democratic was added, and the whole membership went over to Jackson, under the lead of Grand Sachem Mordecai M. Noah, of the *National Advocate*. With the election of Old Hickory began the era of official thefts, and Tammany men began to steal with avidity. The first thieving Collector of this port was a big Indian in Tammany—Samuel Swartwout. William M. Price, the defaulting United States District Attorney, was another early specimen. No serious effort was made to punish either, or to recover the stolen money. All we got was a new participle in the dictionary—"swartwouting" for "stealing." The case of Isaac V. Fowler, Postmaster, is another instance of plundering officers furnished by the immaculate sachems. Fowler was then Grand Sachem, and when he became Postmaster the wigwag held a grand carousal. His defalcation, flight, and death in exile, are matters of recent history.

Of course Tammany's influence in city politics has been always great, and often overwhelming. The Federalists had everything their own way until the election of 1801, when Tammany tried the Tontine trick before alluded to, and elected a good share of the Common Council. The Aldermen and Assistants then operated as a single board. In 1804 the Republicans got seven of the nine wards, and De Witt Clinton (then in harmony with Tam-

many) was Mayor. A caucus was held at once, Clinton presiding, and the other members being Maturin Livingston, the Recorder, Alderman Gilbert, Minthorne, Delamontague, King and Drake, and Assistants Board, Warner, Bloodgood, Crolius, Shute, and Moti. They resolved to remove the Street Commissioner, Controller, Almshouse Superintendent, Commissioner of Repairs, Attorney to the Board, Counsel to the Board, the Captains of the Watch, (among them "Old Hays,") and other officers. This was Tammany's first grab, and from that day to this the party has never failed to follow "the good old plan, they should take who have the power, and they should keep who can." The Federalists recovered the Common Council in 1809, when there were splits on the Tammany side in the Sixth and Seventh Wards, where Clinton and Madison tickets were run. In 1810 Clinton was removed, and Jacob Radcliffe appointed Mayor, and Josiah Ogden Hoffman, a Tammany Grand Sachem, was made Recorder. The Federalists were dominant until 1813, when the Board was equally divided. Next year, for the last time, the Federalists had the City Government. Thenceforward that party rapidly declined. In 1817 Tammany was the scene of a grand fight between the Madison and Clinton factions, and on one occasion the windows were smashed, furniture broken, and the fight ended only by the forcible dispersion of the contestants by the Mayor and watchmen. About 1819 the Federalist organization went down; most of the members went over to the Clinton side, but a few—who thought there was too much man-worship among Clinton's followers—acted with the Bucktails, or stood aloof entirely. These were known as "High-minded Federalists." About this time there was a split in the Bucktail ranks, and two factions arose, known as the "North River Squad" and the "Swamp Gang." In 1820 the Bucktails carried all the wards except the Second; they also had the Legislature and the Council of Appointment, and made Stephen Allen Mayor in place of Colden, and Dickey Rider Recorder in place of Peter A. Jay. In 1823 a combination of anti-Crawford men called the People's Party, elected five

Aldermen and six Assistants—a majority of the board—and chose William Paulding for Mayor. This was the first time the Common Council had the right of electing the Mayor, that officer having previously been appointed at Albany. In 1825, owing to a combination of Crawford and Clinton men in the Common Council, Paulding was ousted, and Philip Hone made Mayor. Jackson was now looming up; the Republicans took the name of Democrats, and the late Federalists and other opponents of Tammany called themselves National Republicans—afterward Whigs, and last the present Republicans. In 1828 Tammany carried the City for Jackson—giving him 15,400 votes, to 9,600 for Adams. In 1834 the people first voted directly for Mayor, and the fight was close—Cornelius W. Lawrence, Democrat, having 17,575, to 17,372 for Gulian C. Verplanck, the opposing candidate.

We will not stop to trace the record down. With few interruptions, the Council of Sachems held rule in the City until the great Democratic overthrow in 1840. That was a barren victory for the Whigs, however. Then came the Native American movement. The solid voting-machine into which the Tammany leaders had consolidated the Irish element made the wigwam invincible. These foreign-born voters never questioned their orders, but voted almost to a man for the candidates given out by the Tammany Committee. No matter who they were, the foreign contingent practiced the doctrine given out in Tammany Hall by John Cochrane—that the ticket must be supported entire. "As for me," said John, (in our hearing,) "I would vote for the incarnate devil if he had the regular Democratic nomination." But Nativism in the abstract was odious and inconsistent with the principles of our government, and so it was short-lived.

The Whig party elected Aaron Clark, William V. Brady, and Caleb S. Woodhull to the Mayoralty, and had the advantage, occasionally, in the Common Council, but the lion's share of the local Government has been in the hands of Tammany. In 1835-6 the Sachems had a row in the family, resulting in the Equal Rights Party—subsequently called Locofocos, from the well-known incident of

lighting the wigwam by matches and candles after the regulars had turned off the gas. The original Locofocos were Moses Jacques, Alexander Ming, Job Haskell, F. W. Byrdsall, Levi D. Slamm, Dr. Vache, Clinton Roosevelt, and George W. Matsell. This party was short-lived, and most of the men went back to Tammany.

In 1848 the Democrats in this State were divided into Hunkers and Barnburners, and Tammany was full of trouble. Long and fierce was the fight for the possession of Tammany Hall, for that only could give any ticket the stamp of "regular." Finally the Hunkers triumphed, and John Van Buren and his Barnburning followers were driven forth into the wilderness. After some years this feud was patched up, and the Sachems once more boasted of a united and happy family. But there was no real peace; hot and angry contentions ensued, and blows were struck and heads mashed in the venerable hall. The party divided into Hards and Softs, and such old Hunker chiefs as John McKeon, James T. Brady, Charles O'Connor, and Greene C. Bronson found themselves out in the cold, where they had put the Barnburners a few moons before. They were refused admission to the hall, and indorsed the Hard State ticket in the open park. Finally they settled in the Stuyvesant Institute, but when Buchanan was nominated a coalition was agreed upon—the Softs assembled at the old hall, marched in Indian file to the Institute, where they were joined by the Hards, and marched back two by two, arm in arm, to the wigwam, where reorganization and consolidation were effected. The old chiefs, however, found a dangerous rival in Fernando Wood, who had been their master-spirit and successful candidate for Mayor. By the aid of Sweeny, Tweed, Savage, and others, Wood organized the Mozart Hall Committee and inflicted great damage upon the old society, once more putting himself at the head of the City Government. Not long after the rebellion broke out another making-up was brought about, and since that time there has been comparative quiet in Tammany Hall. The war enforced them to loyalty, and gave great opportunities for gain.

The "cohesive power of public plunder" was a bond strong enough to keep the peace, and the bloody hatchets were buried out of sight.

Tammany's power was at its highest point in 1870. The party had the Governor and both branches of the Legislature, and their exaltation was supreme. The leaders felt that complete triumph had come—the first since death removed their powerful antagonist, Governor Clinton: John T. Hoffman, ex-Grand Sachem, was Governor; William M. Tweed, the Grand Sachem, was the owner of the Governor, and Lord Dictator; the money of the City was in the keeping of Sachem Richard B. Connolly; the Mayor's chair was filled by Sachem Abraham Oakley Hall, and more than all, the important office of County Auditor was in the hands of that wide-awake and thrifty Sachem, James Watson. Then, too, Sachem Matthew T. Brennan was the Sheriff, and other good and true brothers, sworn never to reveal the secret doings of the omnipotent Council of Sachems, were handsomely quartered upon the taxpayers. The time was auspicious for a grand celebration, and, as the society's anniversary was not available, the robbers fixed upon the Fourth of July for the spree. An invitation ticket was sent out containing a bitter arraignment of the Republican party, accusing its members of all manner of sins, prominent among which was the stealing of the people's money. The Tammany horn was blown in this way:

"The Democratic party came into full power in this State, for the first time in many years, on the 1st of January last. In one short session of the Legislature the false and unconstitutional system of Municipal Government, established by our opponents in the day of their power, has been swept away, and the rights of communities to local self-government have been recognized and established all over the State."

There was a great celebration. Grand Sachem Tweed delivered an address of welcome; the Declaration of Independence was read; Senator Casserly, of California, made the "long talk," and gave the Radicals fits; the poet Saxe informed us that Tammany was "the bulwark of freedom—the pride of the land." Sunset Cox boldly said, "*hanc absurdum est*," and gave the Radicals fits;

Sachem Doug. Taylor nominated "John T. Hoffman, by the help of God and the Democratic party, the next President of the United States," and read letters from Senators Bayard, Stockton, and others, who could not attend; Sachem Sam. Garvin introduced Congressman Brooks, who said "*Magna Charta*," "self-government," and gave the Radicals fits; the "Star-Spangled Banner" was sung, some more fits given to the Radicals, and then the waters of the great spring got fits. Is not all this recorded in a richly printed book, done by Grand Sachem Tweed's "New York Printing Company, and paid for by the people?"

Not long after this grand jollification the attention of *The New York Times* was drawn toward Master Tweed and his ultra-virtuous denouncers of official dishonesty—and there haven't been any more Tammany celebrations outside of the penitentiary.

Now, what are the leading facts in this history? They are that the great Democratic party was created and has been carried on by crafty and desperate men in Tammany Hall, from Aaron Burr to Boss Tweed; that the masses voting on that side have been, in the main, blind tools of a few managers; that the outward and public organization known as the Democratic General Committee is a mob put forward for show; that the real power has been and still is in the hands of half a dozen officers of the Tammany Society; that these rulers have been aware of and profited by almost limitless plunder of the people for half a century; that they were themselves, at the best, the most infamous of a long line of thieves, and that in its whole history the Tammany Society has been the center of every form of partisan knavery, the Wigwag, the receptacle of every ambitious rascal who made up his mind to live by politics, and the whole concern, within and without, a foul and dangerous abomination. The exposures in *The Times* first tore the mask from the rank villains, and to-day the honored Sachems and Grand Sachems—the select priests of this Democratic temple—are in prison as felons, or hiding from justice in foreign lands.

That there have been good men in the soci-

ety is true; that there are many honest and worthy Democrats is true. Gov. Tilden is a member; Gov. Dix is a member; John A. Kennedy was a member, and there have been and are many others not in political sympathy with the Democratic party, yet members of the society. These men are above suspicion of dishonesty; but they take no part in the society, and never attend its meetings. And now, to emphasize again, Gen. Washington's warning against the influence of oath-bound secret societies, let us close with a selection from the list of names of managers of the grand Fourth of July celebration of which we have spoken:

WILLIAM M. TWEED, *Grand Sachem.*

SACHEMS.

MEMBERS.

Peter B. Sweeny,	James H. Ingersoll,
A. Oakey Hall,	Andrew J. Garvey,
Richard B. Connolly,	Henry W. Genet,
James Watson,	Alexander Frear,
George G. Barnard,	Cornelius Corson,
Charles G. Cornell,	Ed. J. Shandley,
Manton Marble,	Elbert A. Woodward,
Joseph Dowling.	Hugh Smith.

These are a few of the controlling spirits of the Tammany Society. The list might be extended among the small fry of ward leaders, but we have given names enough. The theory on which Tammany has operated of late years, has been that New York was to be governed from below—by the weight of ignorance and the strength of corruption, and not by the force of intelligence and virtue. In the unwashed and whisky-solden rabble of a great city it has found an army of adherents capable of being disciplined and manœuvred to an extent that no other civilized community would endure. Although no Irishman has ever held or ever been eligible to so high a place as Sachem, it has so artfully managed that impulsive and unreflecting race as to carry nine in ten of their voters in regular and energetic support of its candidates. By audaciously robbing the tax-payers at large, and handing the plunder over to Irish churches and schools and minor religious institutions, it has flourished and fattened under the blessings of the Holy Father, and secured the influence and co-operation of his priests and their followers. Organized and

operated for years as a Republican institution, it foresaw the rising popularity of the term "Democratic," and coupled that in its title—writing itself "Democratic Republican," and after the Whig party started, simply "Democratic."

In order more directly to reach its constituents, it created the Tammany General Committee, to which the public have admission; but this committee has never for a day been anything more than a machine operated by the real power—the Council of Sachems, or the secret society. By means of its public and visible system it secures the influence and prestige of a popular body of liberal tendencies, while its hidden and limited membership gives it all the potency of a caucus or ring. The whole party is a system of rings, the outermost consisting of a mass of fifty thousand voters, the middle a select guard, forming a general committee, and the innermost the Tammany Society proper, of about six hundred members, who are absolutely controlled by less than a dozen in the Council of Sachems. This council is the soul, the heart, the vital force and moving principle of the Democratic party. The outside mob of voters have no more control over it or themselves than the hands of a clock have over the main-spring and the balance-wheel. Like the hands of the clock they merely record for the outside public the fact that their master, the main-spring, is at work. Thus we see a society organized in the interest of the "anti-consolidationists," as the old State Rights, or anti-Federalists, were called, and now claiming to be the exponents of the simplest Democracy, furnishing in its history the most successful practice of centralization ever known in a popular government. Tammany denounces Know-nothingism: it is the original Know-nothing organization; it denounces secret political organizations; it is the eldest and strongest of them all. It proclaims that the majority should rule; it rules the party through a secret cabal of less than a dozen men. It babbles of integrity and honesty in politics; it has furnished from its secret cabal the monumental defaulters and thieves of the age. It blathers about purity of the ballot:

its chosen leaders "counted in" Hoffman for Governor—himself a sachem at the time—by swelling the vote of this city nearly 30,000 beyond the true number, while of petty

officers the counting in has been regular and frequent ever since the days of Van Buren. Such is the "Heart of the Democratic Party."

## THE PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM OF TEXAS.

In order to afford the readers of THE REPUBLIC an opportunity of judging for themselves to what extent the free schools established by the Republican party in Texas have been reduced in numbers and efficiency by their Democratic successors, we have obtained from official sources in Texas, the school statistics of that State since April, 1871. The figures and facts presented may be accepted as officially correct, and they are commended to the careful examination and thoughtful consideration of the public. Our correspondent says:

In April, 1871, the Republican Legislature passed a school law, and by May 6th, 1871, Mr. DeGress had been appointed by Gov. Davis, confirmed by the Senate, and qualified as Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Texas. The scholastic census was taken at once, showing the scholastic population to be 227,615 between the ages of 6 and 18, of whom nearly two-thirds were white and the balance colored.

During the three months after the law had gone into actual effect, 1,324 public free schools had been opened, 1,578 teachers employed, and 63,504 pupils were attending these schools. This was done in the face of an organized and powerful opposition, brought into existence under the influence of what Democrats termed a Tax-Payer's Convention, who advised the people to resist the tax necessary to carry on these free schools. Attorneys were requested to offer their services gratis to procure injunctions, which were readily granted by some of our District Judges. Finally a case (injunction) was appealed to the Supreme Court of the State, and by them, on the 6th of July, 1872, the law was pronounced constitutional; and later they delivered a decision in a case where a tax had been levied for 1872, deciding the power in said law to levy a tax to maintain schools and build school houses, to be a

continuous tax. Still, within the year 1872 not less than 20 injunctions were granted for the school tax levied for 1871, for the avowed purpose of breaking down the schools by delaying the collection of taxes, and to destroy the system by the starving out of teachers.

In spite of this opposition schools progressed, teachers believing in the honesty of a Republican administration, and at the end of the first scholastic year, August 31, 1872, there were 2,037 schools organized, 2,625 teachers employed, and 127,672 pupils enrolled, who received instruction during the scholastic year of ten months, while 81,653 were in daily attendance. During this year 76 school houses were purchased and built, (frame, California box, log, and stone houses,) costing \$78,815, and the sites for these houses cost \$7,635.

During the scholastic year ending August 31st, 1873, a new school law was enacted by a Democratic (the 13th) Legislature, which was carried over the veto of Gov. Davis, and went into force July 1st, 1873; but up to that time, and for the second scholastic year, under the old law, there were 1,874 free schools organized, 2,236 teachers employed, and 129,542 pupils enrolled, who received instruction during the scholastic year, and 83,082 pupils in daily attendance.

Under the new law spoken of above, I can only give a statement of its workings to Nov. 30th, 1873, when there were only 262 free schools in operation, with but 304 teachers employed.

Under the first school law, the school directors were empowered to levy a tax not exceeding one per cent. per annum for the purpose of building and maintaining schools and school houses, the levy amounting to about \$2,200,000. Up to February, 1874, about one-half of this tax had been collected, and an appropriation by the State of \$500,000, payable for teacher's salaries, was still in the

Treasury, not having been apportioned on account of the failure of the proper officers to take the scholastic census.

The above shows the difference between the workings of the old and new school law, and I make the assertion, without fear of successful contradiction, that under the new law of *four* months tuition, the cost will be greater than under the old law of *ten* months tuition.

The available school fund of this State amounts to about \$550,000 annually, derived from the interest of the United States and Rail Road Bonds, (in which the school money has been invested,) one-fourth of the revenue of the State, and the entire poll-tax.

The permanent school fund is \$2,541,702.95, with four leagues of land to each county, most of which has been located; also the entire public domain, given for the endowment of the public free schools, by the present Constitution, but which you will see by the amendments proposed to the Constitution (published in *THE REPUBLIC* for May,) will be lost to the school fund. The public domain so given to the school fund amounted to 88,841,704½ acres in August 1872.

Within the last three weeks, an injunction granted against the collection of the 1 per cent. school tax of 1871, was decided by the present Supreme Court unconstitutional, and this, after the old Supreme Court had decided the tax to be constitutional in more than a dozen cases.

I will give you here the opinion of one member of the present Supreme Court, (the one who delivered the last decision,) on the question of free schools. When one of the first cases of injunction was appealed to the Supreme Court in 1872, I called on this gentleman and requested him to represent the State before the Supreme Court. He requested me to go with him to the Executive office, (the Governor being one of the members of the Board of Education,) where he would give me an answer; and then in presence of Gov. Davis and myself, he stated that he was opposed to free schools, did not believe in the education of the masses, and therefore would have to decline taking the case and representing the State.

If you will examine the Act of Congress approved March 30th, 1870, admitting Texas into the Union, you will find that certain conditions were attached to the admission of the State, which will be violated if the amendments to the Constitution now submitted to the people are accepted. G.

AUSTIN, TEXAS, April 13, 1875.

The Democracy of Ohio have thought to make their calling and election sure by courting an alliance with the rum interest and the Roman Catholic Church. The Geahan bill abolishes the office of Chaplain in all State institutions, and provides for worship according to the wishes of any inmate. It also abolishes enforced attendance or religious exercises as a part of the reformatory system in the jails, workhouses and penitentiaries of the State. As a large part of the criminals are Catholics, its effect is to set up a Catholic altar and confessional in every prison and asylum, and break up Protestant labor in that field. It destroys the work of the Young Men's Christian Association, which has done great good in Cleveland, Cincinnati and Columbus in reforming criminals and obtaining for them honest employment at the expiration of their terms of imprisonment.

WE may thank God that so close after the War of the Rebellion come the centennial anniversaries of the War of the Revolution. The rebellion was a horrible intrusion into our history. We must forget it. The colored people cannot but remember it so long as they remember that they are a race; but we must forget the differences of race. We must remember only that we are one people, with one origin, with one history, with one future. God forbid that we of the North should boast over the errors or misfortunes of the South. God help our brethren of the South to magnify the interests which they have in common with their brethren of the North.—*The Independent*.

MR. NORDHOFF has got to Louisiana, and gives a startling sketch of the condition of things there. He states that the Legislature of 1869 sat sixty days at a cost to the State for per diem, mileage and contingents, of \$900,000. Each member is said to have received \$7,000 for the session; and it is related that a single committee of the House had eighty-seven clerks, who were paid \$10 a day each.



## LOUISIANA AT PEACE.\*

STATEMENT OF THE RECENT COMPROMISE—ITS OBSERVANCE IN GOOD FAITH BY BOTH PARTIES—  
THE PROSPECT OF PEACE AND PROSPERITY FOR THE FUTURE—THE SPIRIT OF THE "BANNER  
ST. LAWRENCE DISTRICT" TOWARD THE SOUTH.

*To the Editor of the New-York Times.*

Is the Louisiana adjustment a success or a failure? This inquiry comes to me daily from every section of the country. Its answer depends upon what is to be regarded as success or failure. There is a class of people who seem to have expected that the adjustment was to inaugurate a political millennium in Louisiana; that henceforth that State was to be wholly free from the friction which attends the working of political parties elsewhere. This class will probably pronounce the adjustment a failure, for undoubtedly party warfare will continue to be waged in Louisiana very much as it is in New York and the other States of the Union. She will have her dishonest officials and corrupt legislation, as other States have, and she will for years to come stagger along under the load of her accumulated financial burdens, and her obligations may, at times, go to protest. Louisiana, from her existence as a State, has had an exceptionally stormy record. Read the Messages of her Governors for years antecedent to the late war, and you will rarely fail to find allegations of public disorder and official defalcations. This condition of things, arising from the diversity of races and character in the State, with almost unavoidable disturbances growing out of the war, and the upheaval of the very foundations of labor and society, is not to be changed in a day by any one act, however potent or beneficial.

## THE FUTURE BRIGHT.

Nevertheless, I firmly believe that even Louisiana has at last caught inspiration from the new order of things, and that, exhausted as she is with tumult and violence, yet with just government and the education of her people, (the last just now her greatest need,) she will, with steady but slow pace, emerge from what seemed to be her utterly helpless condition. There is another class who will regard the adjustment as a failure—

\* New York Times, May 10.

those who sought in it simply partizan advantages. Without arrogating anything for the gentlemen who composed the late Congressional Committee on Southern Affairs, I think I may safely claim for them that they are not of this class.

## THE PURPOSE OF THE COMMITTEE.

As for the Republican members, they entered upon their labors with a sincere desire to redress any wrongs or errors committed by their party, particularly in connection with the general election held in Louisiana in November last. They did not inquire who were to lose or gain by following principle to its just conclusion. As to the Democratic members, while they had no faith in the success of the adjustment, they placed no obstacles in its way, and one of them, Hon. Mr. Marshall, of Illinois, gave his public approbation to the attempt at pacification. The Republican members were deeply impressed with the fact that the Returning Board had inflicted great wrong upon the people of Louisiana, by depriving certain members of the House of Representatives of the seats to which they had been legally elected. To redress this wrong—to convince the people of Louisiana, by act rather than by profession, that the Republican Party would secure to them what they claim with so much tenacity for themselves—respect and obedience to the will of the majority when fairly expressed—was their sole determined aim. The refusal of the South to abide by this doctrine in 1860 drove us into the war, which I trust forever affirmatively settled it. We compelled the South to submit to it, and ought now, if they are to be regarded as equals in the Government, to accord them all that we demand for ourselves. And it is just here that the adjustment is to be regarded as a complete success. The great obstacle encountered by the Committee in New Orleans was the desire, on both sides, for political supremacy. The Democrats insisted that the Republicans,



having the majority in the House of Representatives, would not voluntarily relinquish it. On my recent visit to New Orleans, and on the day preceding the meeting of the extra session of the Legislature, I met, by invitation, the Republican State Committee of Louisiana and the Republican members of the House of Representatives, in joint meeting convened. After mutual consultation, the resolution was taken to carry out the adjustment in letter and spirit, and the manner in which it was done on the next day, and particularly the conduct of the retiring members, challenged the admiration of the country.

#### JUSTICE TO THE SOUTH.

A fuller measure of justice was thus rendered to the people of that State than even the Conservatives claimed at the hands of the Committee. And so the Republican party, of its own volition, accorded justice to the people of Louisiana. In doing this I admit that it did nothing beyond simple justice, but that was a great achievement, under the circumstances which surround the party in that State.

In another, and perhaps more important respect, the adjustment has proved a great success. *There is now a State Government in Louisiana, admitted and recognized by the people.* Tossed upon the wild waves of anarchy for the last two years, appealing in vain to Congress and the courts, the State has at last found rest by its own voluntary action.

At the close of the late extra session of the Legislature, Speaker Estillette, a Democrat, in responding to the resolution of thanks offered by a colored Republican member, gave true expression to the now prevalent feeling when he said:

"We came together under strange auspices, and serious doubts were entertained whether any good would come out of the adjustment. We knew nothing or little of each other, and naturally felt more or less suspicious of one another. No sooner, however, was the adjustment accepted by our Republican friends, than it became manifest that a bond of common interest in the welfare of our State would dissipate all strife and contention.

"This is an epoch in the history of Louisiana which must inaugurate an era of good feeling among all citizens, white and black, Democrats and Republicans.

"Once more we will see capital pouring

into our State, confidence restored, and our agricultural and manufacturing interests developed. No one will now gainsay that the adjustment has been proved a success, fruitful in good results to the City of New Orleans and to the State of Louisiana."

And these were the sentiments of all sides of the House in seconding the resolution. One needs to have been an eye-witness to the condition of things in this distracted State to appreciate the advantages to flow from this recognition of a State Government. From a condition of unrest, want of confidence, complete prostration of all business interests, utter despondency and dire anarchy, the people have become quiet, hopeful, confident, and every industry in the State is springing into new life and activity. I could fill a column with instances falling under my own observation illustrating this statement. Riot, tumult, and anarchy have given way to a Government whose sceptre is not the bayonet, but the voluntary adherence and support of the people. If nothing more, there is a lull in the storm, in which reason and order are morally certain to gain the ascendancy. Who shall say this is not a substantial gain?

#### HAVE THE DEMOCRATS BROKEN FAITH?

But it is alleged, and believed by some of our party friends, that one of the provisions of the adjustment has already been violated by the Democrats. I cannot subscribe to the truth of this allegation. To the end that the question may be fully understood, I append a copy of the articles of agreement (A.) A reading of them will show that they embrace three parties — all Democrats — who trusted alone to the good faith of the Legislature to carry out the arrangement. First, were those who claimed that they had been elected as members of the House of Representatives, but that their certificates of election were illegally withheld by the Returning Board. Second, were two Senators in like position. Third, were Democrats who were declared elected by the Returning Board, in relation to whose seats there was no controversy, and who left the House with Wiltz on the 4th of January last, and did not seek to return until the late extra session. The first two classes submitted their claims to the arbitrament of the committee, and agreed that such of them as

should "become members of the House of Representatives," would support the joint resolution recognizing the State Government, &c. The third class agreed to resume their seats upon conditions, and aid in perfecting the adjustment.

A further reading will show the arbitrators had nothing to do *but to pass upon the claims of the Members and Senators who should sign the agreement.* Of course the award could effect no one else. It was merely advisory to the Republican members of the General Assembly. It could not and did not seek directly to interfere with the rights of members then sitting, and who had the certificates of the Returning Board, but whose seats were claimed by Democrats. It left each House of the General Assembly under that provision of the State Constitution which declares it to be the "judge of the qualifications, election and return of its members," to make final decision, as it did in the end. After the Democrats left the house on the 4th of January, and sometime during the winter session, the Republicans unseated four Democratic members, *who held the certificates of the Returning Board, and whose names were on the list of members used by the Republican Clerk at the attempted organization in January.* No one of these four Democrats who were reseatd at the recent extra session of the Legislature, of which complaint is made, was a party to the articles of adjustment; and when they were drawn I certainly had no knowledge that their legislative status had been changed—neither party calling my attention to it. Nor had I knowledge of the fact until a few days prior to the meeting of the committee in New York in the month of March last. The committee did not at all consider their cases, and the award has no reference to them, as a copy appended will show (B). These four Democrats, as I have already said, held the certificates of the Returning Board. They could not be deprived of their seats except by the action of the House of Representatives. The Constitution of Louisiana (article 33) provides that "*Not less than a majority of the members of each house of the General Assembly shall form a quorum to transact business.*" No one can be found in Louisiana to assert that at the time these

four Democrats were unseated there was a quorum of the House present. So these four Democrats had never been *legally* deprived of their seats. But it is replied by those who impute bad faith to the Democrats that the agreement contains this provision: "The House of Representatives, as to its members, as constituted under the award, \* \* \* shall remain without change, except by resignation or death of members, until a new general election," and that this condition has been violated. The Democrats never questioned the action of the Returning Board *except in the cases referred to the committee.* They were willing, with these exceptions, to abide by it. My understanding of the above provision is that the House of Representatives was to be as returned by the Returning Board, *after the errors of that board had been corrected, in the cases specified in the agreement, by the award of the committee, and its adoption by the House of Representatives.* The parties to the agreement having made no stipulation in these cases, cannot be fairly asked to deprive these four members of seats to which they had been declared elected by the Returning Board, and of which "less than a majority of the members" of the House of Representatives had attempted to deprive them.

While in New Orleans, a few days since, I expressed the opinion that, as a strictly legal proposition, the parties might be held to have contracted with reference to the membership of the House at the time the agreement was signed. Just how this view of the case might affect the result I have not the data at hand to ascertain. But careful reflection satisfies me that there is a principle involved here which should not yield to strict legal rule, and which is of far more importance than any question of party preponderance. These four men being legally entitled to their seats, and having done nothing to forfeit them, their reinstatement was an act of simple justice, which all fully understanding the facts must approve.

#### THE POSITION OF THE CONSERVATIVES.

And now a word as to the bad faith imputed to the Democrats in this movement. They did not act covertly. It will be remembered that the first acceptance of the articles of adjust-

ment was followed by a large, tumultuous meeting, numbered by thousands, in the streets of New Orleans, at which the most violent and inflammatory resolutions were passed, and which for a time caused some who had signed the articles to pause. Negotiations were, after a little, proposed on another basis. On the night of the 8th of February, 1875, the Conservative caucus adopted another article, which contained, among others, this provision: "It being distinctly understood that those returned elected, both by the Returning Board and the Conservative Committee, shall be accepted as legally elected." This covers the case of the four members. This whole proposition was published at the time, and is indicative of the purpose of the Democrats. On consultation with my Republican associates, it was declined by me by telegraph from Mobile; not, however, on account of the above feature, but for other conditions therein contained.

But more than this; on the day preceding the meeting of the late extra session of the Legislature, I met, at the rooms of Gen. Sheridan, at the St. Charles, prominent Republican officials, and Col. Leonard, of the *Shreveport Times*, who had been the leading man in the negotiations on the Democratic side. He assented to the proposition for adjustment at the very outset—never faltered in its support, but amid all its varying fortunes, when the tumultuous thousands threatened to overthrow it, gathered new courage and hope, and assured me, so far as his friends were concerned, of ultimate triumph. The matter of the four members was fully discussed in Gen. Sheridan's room, and Col. Leonard distinctly informed us that he wished no concealment, and that it was due to us that he should inform us that if the award of the committee should be adopted by the House, the Democrats would promptly reseal the four members. This statement is but simple justice to Col. Leonard and those whom he represented.

I can easily perceive how parties at a distance, without knowledge of the facts in detail, should think the Democrats guilty of non-observance of the provisions which I have cited; but I cannot think them in fair-

ness obnoxious to the charge, and common justice, which ought to characterize parties as well as individuals, entitles them to this explanation. The Republican party has now put itself in the right in Louisiana. The action of both parties in the future will be watched by the country, and the people will mete out to each the judgment to which by its acts it shall entitle itself, and to that tribunal the matter safely may be confided.

#### PATIENCE AND JUSTICE REQUIRED.

And now a closing word—the result of my personal observation in the South. We of the North delude ourselves in expecting that the masses of the South, so far behind us in many of the attributes of enlightened improvement and civilization, are, in the brief period of ten or fifteen years, to be transformed into our model Northern communities. That can only come through a long course of patient waiting, to which no one can now set certain bounds. There will be a good deal of unavoidable friction, which will call for forbearance, and which will have to be relieved by the temperate, fostering care of the Government. One of the most potent, if not indispensable, agencies in this direction will be the devising of some system to aid in the education of the masses. The fact that there are whole counties in Louisiana in which there is not a solitary school house is full of suggestion. We compelled these people to remain in the Union, and now duty and interest demand that we leave no just means untried to make them good, loyal citizens. How to diminish the friction, how to stimulate the elevation of this portion of our country, are problems addressing themselves to our best and wisest statesmanship. The foundation for these efforts must be laid in satisfying the Southern people that they are to have equal, exact justice accorded to them. Give them, to the fullest extent, every blessing which the Government confers upon the most favored—give them no just cause for complaint, and then hold them by every necessary means, to an exact, rigid observance of all their duties and obligations under the Constitution and its amendments to secure to all within their borders, manhood and

citizenship, with every right thereto belonging. This I believe to be the doctrine of the Republican party. I know it is of the thousands of veteran Republicans in the Banner St. Lawrence District, as it is of

Yours very truly,

WILLIAM A. WHEELER.

MALONE, Saturday, May 8, 1875.

[A.]

THE TEXT OF THE ADJUSTMENT.

NEW ORLEANS, March, 1875.

Whereas, It is desirable to adjust the difficulties growing out of the general election in this State, in 1872, the action of the Returning Board in declaring and promulgating the results of the general election, in the month of November last, and the organization of the House of Representatives, on the 4th day of January last, such adjustment being deemed necessary to the re-establishment of peace and order in this State.

Now, therefore, the undersigned members of the Conservative party, claiming to have been elected members of the House of Representatives, and that their certificates of election have been illegally withheld by the Returning Board, hereby severally agree to submit their claims to seats in the House of Representatives to the award and arbitrament of George F. Hoar, William A. Wheeler, William P. Frye, Charles Foster, William Walter Phelps, Clarkson N. Potter, and Samuel S. Marshall, who are hereby authorized to examine and determine the same upon the equities of the several cases; and when such awards shall be made, we hereby severally agree to abide by the same:

And such of us as may become members of the House of Representatives, under this arrangement, hereby severally agree to sustain by our influence and votes the joint resolution hereinafter set forth.

[Here follow the signatures of the Democrats who claimed that their certificates of election as members of the House of Representatives had been illegally withheld by the Returning Board.]

And the undersigned claiming to have been elected Senators from the Eighth and Twenty-Second Senatorial Districts, hereby agree to submit their claims to the foregoing award and arbitrament, and in all respects to abide the results of the same.

[Here follow the signatures of the Democrats, who made a like claim as to seats in the Senate.]

And the undersigned, holding certificates of election from the Returning Board, hereby severally agree that upon the coming in of

the award of the foregoing arbitrators they will, when the same shall have been ratified by the report of the Committee on Elections and Qualifications of the body in session at the State House claiming to be the House of Representatives, attend the sitting of the said House for the purpose of adopting said report, and if said report shall be adopted, and the members embraced in the foregoing report shall be seated, then the undersigned severally agree that immediately upon the adoption of said report they will vote for the following joint resolution:

[Here follow the signatures of the Democratic members of the House of Representatives in relation to whose seats there was no controversy.]

JOINT RESOLUTION.

*Resolved*, by the General Assembly of the State of Louisiana, That said Assembly, without approving the same, will not disturb the present State Government claiming to have been elected in 1872, known as the Kellogg Government, or seek to impeach the Governor for any past official acts, and that henceforth it will accord to said Governor all necessary and legitimate support in maintaining the laws and advancing the peace and prosperity of the people of this State; and that the House of Representatives, as to its members, as constituted under the award of George F. Hoar, W. A. Wheeler, W. P. Frye, Charles Foster, Samuel S. Marshall, Clarkson N. Potter, and William Walter Phelps, shall remain without change except by resignation or death of members until a new general election, and that the Senate, as now organized, shall also remain unchanged except so far as that body shall make changes on contests.

[B.]

TEXT OF THE AWARD.

NEW YORK, March 13, 1875.

The undersigned having been requested to examine the claims of the persons hereinafter named to seats in the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana, and having examined the returns and the evidence relating to such claims, are of opinion, and do hereby find, award, and determine, that F. S. Goode is entitled to a seat in the senate from the Twenty-Second Senatorial District; and that J. B. Elam is not entitled to a seat in the Senate from the Eighth Senatorial District; and that the following named persons are entitled to seats in the House of Representatives from the following named parishes respectively: From the Parish of Assumption, R. R. Beasley, E. F. X. Dugas; from the Parish of Bienville, James Brice; from the Parish of De Soto, J. S. Scales, Charles Schuler; from the Parish

of Jackson, E. Kidd; from the Parish of Rapides, James Jeffries, R. C. Luckett, G. W. Stafford; from the Parish of Terrebonne, Edward McCollum, W. H. Keyes; from the Parish of Winn, George A. Kelley. And that the following named persons are not entitled to seats which they claim from the following named parishes respectively, but that the persons now holding seats from said parishes are entitled to retain the seats now held by them: From the Parish of Avoyelles, J. O. Quin; from the Parish of Iberie, W. F. Schwing; from the Parish of Caddo, A. D. Land, T. R. Vaughan, J. J. Horan. We are of opinion that no person is entitled to a seat from the Parish of Grant.

In regard to most of the cases, the undersigned are unanimous; as to the others the decision is that of a majority.

GEORGE F. HOAR,  
W. A. WHEELER,  
W. P. FRYE,  
CHARLES FOSTER,  
CLARKSON N. POTTER,  
WILLIAM WALTER PHELPS,  
SAMUEL S. MARSHALL.

The following are the editorial comments of the New York *Times* on Mr. Wheeler's letter and the good results of the Louisiana compromise. The letter and the comments of the *Times* are alike worthy of careful and thoughtful perusal. The clouds are breaking; there is a clear sky developing all around. Let us have faith.

#### THE SOUTH AND THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

We invite careful attention to the letter of Hon. William A. Wheeler on the Louisiana adjustment and its consequences. It is an important statement, from an authoritative source, of facts in a case that has given the country great trouble, and which it is very desirable should be very accurately understood. Of Mr. Wheeler himself it is hardly necessary to say that his character for fidelity to the principles of the Republican party is as firmly established as that of any man in public life in the country, and that in the course of a long and conspicuous career in Congress he has earned the unqualified respect of all who know him. It is largely due to his impartiality, his patient industry, and his remarkable combination of tact and candor, that the adjustment of the difficulties in Louisiana has been attended with so much success.

What the adjustment was, what its terms required, how it was understood, in what way it has been carried out, and what are its effects on the prosperity and prospects of the hitherto unhappy State, the reader can ascertain from Mr. Wheeler's own statement. At this moment we desire only to point out that the spirit which guided the arbitrators in the matter, and the spirit in which Mr. Wheeler discusses the situation in the letter which we publish this morning, is precisely that which the great body of the Republican party throughout the country shares concerning the South. We have frequently had occasion to declare that whatever may have been the motives guiding some of the Republican politicians in Louisiana and in Washington, the party as a whole—the disinterested, thoughtful, and fair-minded men of the whole organization—have never wished to wrest any partisan advantage from the misfortunes or even from the faults of the South. The prevailing sentiment of the Republican party toward the South, so far as we have any means of accurately determining it, is one of kindness and justice. There has been a good deal of anxiety; there has been some suspicion; often there has been impatience; but we are perfectly confident that the announcement by Mr. Wheeler that the Louisiana adjustment has been observed in good faith by the conservatives, and that it promises to result in the advancement of the best interests of the entire people of the State, will be received with unalloyed gratification by the great mass of the Republican party.

More than this, we risk nothing in saying that the Republican party, as a whole, longs for the complete extinction of all political differences with the South, as such; it longs for the time when it can safely believe that geographical lines and lines of race shall be obliterated in party contests, and that the Southern and Northern citizens of our Republic can choose their party associations utterly uninfluenced by the part which either took in the late civil contest. Whether this can happen so soon as the next Presidential election we do not pretend to say. It will depend, we believe, on how clearly the people of both sections can be made to

understand the *facts*, and on how far they are misled by prejudice and error. In our opinion there is no sound or substantial reason why a sectional element should enter into the approaching canvass. The reappearance of such an element, would be an unqualified misfortune, the more to be regretted because unnecessary. The interests of the North and the South are precisely the same. Each is bound up in the success or want of success of the other. The one thing that separated them in so many sad and terrible ways has been done away with—done away with absolutely and forever, in all its forms. There is no reason why South Carolina and New York should not be as heartily united as New York and Pennsylvania. As a matter of fact, there is no longer such a thing in existence as a sectional interest opposed to another sectional interest from the Gulf to the Adirondacks. Those who would make it appear that there is, are either hopelessly blind or wickedly wreckless. There are American interests only, and these are common to the whole country. Every act, every word on either side that obscures this great fact is a blunder or a crime.

It is a common thing to hear the Mississippi spoken of as the great bond of Union between the sections. It is, indeed, a noble one, which the country should strengthen in every possible manner. But there are others scarcely less important. The magnificent ranges of the Alleghanies and their outlying courses of hills, sweeping from the granite coasts of New Hampshire to within sight of the Gulf, constitute such a bond. On their flanks and in their valleys they hold coal and iron and bear forests, that must, sooner or later, give birth to industries such as the world has never yet seen, and has scarcely imagined, while the enormous water-power from the streams that flow down their eastern slope stands ready to make its rich contribution. In connection with these are the harbors of the Southern coast, from Norfolk to Mobile, every one of which will, in the course of time, be the depot and entrepôt of a thriving commerce.

Why should the possessors of such a

heritage as ours quarrel? War, with harsh measure to all engaged in it, has destroyed the only great cause of division between us. Can we afford to prolong its injuries and nurse its miseries? If we cannot look on the past with equanimity, why should we not turn toward the future and bury our petty animosities, our stupid distrust of each other, our costly and irritating prejudices, in the contemplation of the sure rewards that invite our united pursuit. Great as has been the progress of this nation since it consisted, a hundred years ago, of a thin fringe of scanty settlements between the mountains and the sea coast, it has been almost insignificant compared to that which is possible in the next hundred years. Why should we postpone unnecessarily our entrance, in hearty accord, on this flattering career? We have almost unlimited resources; we have the labor, the skill, and in great part the capital required for the immediate future. All we lack, so far as the South is concerned, is political tranquility, and to supply that lack as far as in him lies, is the urgent, unquestionable duty of every American citizen. Most of all, it is the duty of every member of that party which justly boasts that its essential purpose has been to establish the country in a perfect Union.

THE stock of gold in the world in 1848 was estimated at \$2,740,000,000, and the product since then \$2,800,000,000 making an aggregate of \$5,540,000,000. Some person with a turn for figures has estimated that the annual loss by wear and tear being about \$15,000,000, the aggregate loss in 27 years has been \$405,000,000, leaving \$5,135,000,000 as the stock of gold at present in existence.

A KENTUCKY correspondent, discussing the coming campaign in that State, says that the first requisite of the Democratic nominee for Governor must be a "clean war record from a Confederate standpoint," whatever Eastern and New England readers may think about this. The Republicans hold their Convention May 13, and the writer says that "General Apatthy, the old commander of the party in Kentucky, is still at his post."



## CATHOLIC CENSORSHIP OF THE PRESS.

We have already mentioned, says the *Boston Journal*, the fact that the *Montreal Daily Witness* has been placed under a ban by the Roman Catholic Bishop of Montreal and the Archbishop of Quebec. Faithful Catholics are now forbidden, under penalty of excommunication, to read, buy or sell that paper, to advertise in it, or even to read the advertisements in it. Indeed, one enthusiastic Catholic clerk in the Montreal Post-Office conceived it to be his duty to tear up the copies which passed through his hands, and would doubtless have continued to do so indefinitely if he had not been admonished by his superiors that there were certain duties he owed to the Government as well as to the Church. The circulation of the *Daily Witness* ranges between 12,000 and 13,000, and the effect of the ban has been to reduce it about 500 copies daily; the circulation of the *Tri-Weekly* has been affected in about the same ratio; while the circulation of the *Weekly* is larger by several thousands than at this time last year, due probably to the fact that its constituency is largely in the smaller towns, and among Protestant communities. The particular offence of the *Witness*, which called down upon it the Catholic ban, was the publication of reports of the lectures of Father Chiniquy, an eloquent Catholic priest who has gone over to Protestantism, and has preached the truth, as he now sees it, often at the peril of his life, to all who would come to hear him. We recollect the reports published in the *Witness*, as simple abstracts of the speaker's words, and the editorial articles which occasionally accompanied them appeared to us singularly unprejudiced, as they reprobated the tendency to intemperate utterances on the part of Chiniquy, at the same time that they denounced the demonstrations of mob violence which sometimes greeted them.

The *Witness* is conducted with marked ability and candor: it has never stooped to abuse or scurrility; its columns have been open to the discussion of all sides of public questions; and whenever it has assailed Catholicism it has always been in behalf of

free speech and free thought, and in a tone marked by moderation and fairness. We have read it quite regularly, without any thought that we were imperiling our soul's salvation thereby, and we have never found in it a line which seemed to us to make against the interests of truth and morality and right living. Nothing shows more clearly the spirit in which it is conducted than the fact that when certain of its subscribers recently, indignant at the Catholic attempt to suppress it, proposed to carry the war into Africa by refusing to have anything to do with Catholic tradesmen, the *Witness* protested vigorously against any such course. Yet this is the paper which loyal Catholics are forbidden to touch, and for the sale of which even newsboys have been arrested on fictitious charges. It is the only paper in Lower Canada which is not under Catholic control.

We have no fears for the prosperity of the *Witness*. In spite of the ban of the Church, it retains, we believe, several thousand Catholic subscribers, while it has of course a stronger hold than ever on the sympathies of the Protestant population. But there is a very common impression abroad that whatever intolerance the Catholic Church may have exhibited in the past is entirely at an end—in America, at all events. From the Catholic press and prelates we have had expressions which appeared to indicate a more liberal policy; and the idea that the Catholic Church would ever undertake to restrain free speech has been repelled with scorn by some eminent Catholic authorities. By contrast with these fair professions, we invite attention to this attempt to suppress the *Montreal Witness*. Here in America, and in this latter end of the nineteenth century, we have all the powerful machinery of the church put forth to crush a newspaper, simply for its Protestantism, and maledictions for this world and the next pronounced upon all who read or sell it. Is this the tolerance we have heard so much of? We have no quarrel with the religious faith of any body of our citizens, and no hostility to any church, as such; but attempts to muzzle the press and drown free speech are contrary to the spirit of our times, and must be resisted, from whatever quarter they may come.

## ROMISH DESIGNS IN AMERICA.

We design to speak with all fairness towards the Roman Catholics in this country, their religion and their church. So far as they constitute an element of our American society, and are honestly laboring for the general welfare, either temporal or spiritual, we wish to commend them as we would any other portion of our fellow citizens who are aiming at a like result. We recognize them as having become among us a powerful body of people, and we have no wish to interfere with their religion or their church, or any of their charitable or philanthropic operations so long as they are conducted honestly and openly upon principles which are recognized and accepted as common to all men who seek the improvement of the human race. There are certain fundamental ideas peculiar to our American system of government and society, which must be borne in mind in considering the attitude of the Romish Church towards the rest of the world. For example, that in the civil state the people are the source of authority, and that civil government must be "from the people, by the people, and for the people;" that every human being has the right of private judgment and of freedom of speech; and that there is no power on earth to coerce the human conscience, or that can lawfully restrain or oppress it; these are things sacred to every man, woman, and child that bears true loyalty to the Constitution and laws of the country. We have here no union of church and state, but universal liberty of religion, and a system of popular education non-sectarian and recognizing only the sacred Scriptures as the word of God, and the sacred Sabbath as the ordinance of God. These things were established by the fathers and founders of the Republic, and have thus far been transmitted to us, their children, essentially unimpaired. Under this American system of ideas, the country has been developed, and the American people have flourished in unexampled prosperity to the present time.

But the Romish system proceeds on a basis exactly the opposite of all this. Some of its prime essential doctrines are in direct

hostility to these American ideas. The Romish priesthood teach that there is no salvation outside of the Romish Church; that the Pope is the vicar of God on earth, and that as such he rightfully holds all power, temporal and spiritual; that the Bible is to be withheld from the common people; that private judgment in matters of religion is to be denied; that the human conscience is to be coerced; and that for this purpose all popular education must be in the charge of the hierarchy, who control likewise the votes of the Romish laity, and claim the right of dictation over the exercise of the civil suffrage. These are vital principles of the Romish system, and they need only to be stated in contrast with the American system to show the utter irreconcilability between the two, and to furnish an explanation of the designs and efforts of the Romish power in this country.

These things have been studied and known from the beginning, and from time to time voices of warning to the American people have been lifted up. Meanwhile the Romish Church has been advancing, increasing in numbers, wealth and power, until they have now attained to formidable proportions, and begin to put forth in a bolder manner the declaration of their designs for the future. To show their increase in this country, it is stated by a writer in the *Atlantic Monthly*, that in the year 1800 there were one Bishop, fifty-three priests, and about ninety thousand members. There are now seven Archbishops, forty Bishops, three mitred abbots, three thousand one hundred priests, sixty-five Catholic colleges, fifty-six convents of men, one hundred and eighty-nine convents of women, and four million eight hundred thousand Catholic population. In other words, in 1800 the Catholics were something like one-seventieth of the whole population of the United States. They are now about one-sixth.\* They have also in-

\* Increase of Romanism in the U. S. from 1790 to 1875.  
1790 there was 1 Roman Catholic for every 151 of population.

1808	"	"	1	"	"	65	"
1820	"	"	1	"	"	29	"
1840	"	"	1	"	"	34	"
1850	"	"	1	"	"	31	"
1860	"	"	1	"	"	7	"
1870	"	"	1	"	"	77-10	"
1875	"	"	1	"	"	6	"

creased faster than the general population of the country, and judging from the past they count on being one-third of the whole population in the year 1900, and perhaps having a majority in the controlling cities and States of the Union; and the wealth of the church has increased at a much more rapid rate. Since this estimate was made a Prince Cardinal of the Church has been created in the city of New York, while a portion of the press, led on by the *N. Y. Herald*, sounds his fame and honors far and wide! And it is this powerful organization or system of organizations that has fixed its eye upon this country and proposes to Romanize it within the next hundred years.

In carrying out this design, one of the grand objects is to gain the children of the next two or three generations, to gather them into Roman Catholic parochial schools, and educate them in the Papal religion. For this purpose it became necessary, many years ago, to make an attack on the system of common schools prevailing in this land. Their first outcry was against the Bible in use in these schools as a Protestant or sectarian book. The object was to drive this volume out of the schools, and then, as they are already beginning to do, to denounce these schools as irreligious and infidel. Under many specious and plausible pretexts this warfare has been carried on, until at length they boldly claim that the legislatures shall give them their share of the public funds for the establishment of their own system of sectarian schools, and for the education of their children, and if possible, of all children, in their exclusive religious creed!

Such is the State of the controversy at the present time. The Romanists are providing, and it is their fixed intention to provide, for a free school in every parish in the land. In the diocese of New York, there are already sixty-one of these parochial schools where some twenty-five thousand children are daily imbued with Romish sentiments, principles and doctrines. The religious instruction of these schools we are told, consists of a lesson in the catechism, the repetition of Romish prayers, the reading of the gospel of the day and a short exhortation. Yet the Romish

priesthood denounce the reading of the Bible in our common schools as a sectarian book, and the prayers of Protestants as the mockery of heretics doomed to destruction!

To exhibit the animus of the Romish priesthood on this subject, we cite from a sermon of the Jesuit, Walker, delivered in the city of New York, but a short time since, on the subject of the public schools. "Woe be to the parents," he cried, "who send their children to these public schools! woe be to those who secretly favor them in their hearts! I would not like to be in their places on the day of judgment. The public schools are the nurseries of vice. They are godless schools, and they who send their children to them can not expect the mercy of God. They ought not to expect the sacraments of the church in their dying moments. I hope you and I will live to see the day when they who commit this great sin will be refused the sacraments of the church. What! let them die without the sacraments of the church, you will ask? Yes, I say so. I would as soon administer the sacraments to a dog as to such Catholics." And so he continued in the same frantic strain. He went on to state that there were a million of Catholics in New York and Brooklyn, and hundreds of thousands more in the State, powerful enough to demand and obtain their rights. This is the style of address which the Jesuit priest now assumes, and his mode of attack on one of the favored and popular institutions of the land.

About the same time a committee on behalf of the Roman Catholic free schools of the city of New York, has applied to the Board of Education to know on what terms the said parochial schools may be admitted to the benefits of the common school system, subject to its laws, &c., in such manner as may be agreed upon. A similar proposition has been made in Buffalo. Those who urged it said, "Adopt our present schools and allow us to teach our religion in them and we shall be satisfied." It was likewise stated that the plan proposed had been virtually arranged in Poughkeepsie and some other parts of the State. According to this plan the priest lets the school house to the Board

of Education at a nominal rent, and with the provision that he may cancel the lease at two months' notice, and the priest appoints the teachers! Thus the public is taxed to support schools in which Roman Catholicism is taught. Such an arrangement effectually destroys the American school system. Upon this state of things a recent writer offers the following timely comments:—

"That the proposition should be openly and gravely made, shows how bold the Roman assault upon the schools has become, and how culpably indifferent public opinion is. It must be remembered that the primary object of the Roman party is not the education of the children, but the maintenance and extension of the Roman sect. The plan is to make the schools nurseries of Roman Catholicism—a plan which every good citizen should strenuously oppose. It is the duty of the State—which it confesses and discharges—to provide for the instruction of all the children, and the American School System is not to be overthrown 'upon the flimsy pretexts which the friends of Romanism allege.' The assertion on which the attack is carried on must not be forgotten. The school law prohibits the teaching of the tenets of any Christian or other religious sect, but permits the reading of the 'Holy Scriptures,' without note or comment. The law, however, forbids the Board of Education to decide which version of the Scriptures shall be read, and the Douay, or Roman, version may be read equally with the English. Thus the fact is that the Protestant Bible is not ordered to be read in the schools; and if it were, it is not easily opposed as teaching sectarian tenets, but as preventing the cry of 'Godlessness and irreligion.' And the writer goes on to say, 'Let the case be well understood. If the proposition to adopt the Roman parochial schools shall be accepted by the Board of Education, in a manner to leave the slightest authority or control in them to the priests, a fatal victory over the public school system will have been gained by its deadliest enemy. If the parochial schools are adopted, it must be absolutely and without conditions, so that they will stand upon precisely the same ground as the public primary and grammar schools, and a Roman priest must no more be permitted to appoint teachers for them than Baptists, Methodists, Israelites, or Mahomedans.'"

These are sensible remarks. The question has now assumed a form when it is no longer a contest between the Protestant and Romish religions. It takes a wider range. Roman-

ism comes forward and throws down the glove to all the rest of the world. It proposes to change the customs and institutions of our fathers. It proposes to dictate to this nation of forty millions of people the system of popular education; and, through the nurture of the children, to bind its yoke on the necks of this whole people.

To accomplish this, it is ready to employ any means within its power. Political parties are to be subsidized. The venal press becomes its cloquer, while the serious facts are that demagogues and men greedy of gain will play into its hands. Its members are very largely of foreign birth,—of a low average education—strictly organized and disciplined, and led solely by the priests. The political object of this Church—of its clergy rather than its members, for they have no voice whatever in the shaping of its policy or its government,—is the destruction of the non-sectarian public school system, and the substitution of schools in which the Romish priesthood are to supply the teachers. Thus they hope to *Catholicise* the population, with the assistance and connivance of the State. As this Church steadily increases, the danger becomes more positive with the value of its vote.

The Democratic party has always courted the patronage and support of the Romish Church, and has given every indication of yielding to its demands whenever it has had the opportunity or the power. As a recent and most humiliating example of this, we refer to the Geghan Bill in the Ohio Legislature, one object of which was to prevent the visits of the members of the Young Men's Christian Associations, or their performing any religious exercises in the prisons, almshouses or other public institutions throughout the State, and to confer unusual and exclusive privileges upon the Romish priests. The bill was drawn under the eye of the Romish Bishop Purcell, and forced through a Democratic Legislature by the threats and intimidations of the same scheming and remorseless power. Upon this most outrageous aggression of Jesuitism, Mr. Eugene Lawrence very pointedly observes:

"It is a plain proof that in future the Papal

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Church means to strike openly at Republican institutions and American freedom. Here, three years ago, the Papal Church pledged all its support to the followers of Mr. Greeley, and hoped, apparently, by a sudden intrigue to seize upon the National Government. It was the Catholic press that gave rise to some of the most violent denunciations of Republican leaders, and the grossest slanders against the men who had done most to save the Nation. The power of the Papal priesthood over the Democratic leaders is no doubt supreme, as the *Catholic Telegraph* asserts. Nine-tenths of our Roman Catholic population, it tells the trembling Democracy, are of their party—have raised them to office—are conscious of past favors, and are expecting more. They can never throw off their chains. The *Catholic Telegraph* has shown them the naked truth of their condition. Scarcely a Democrat would be in office today, in any free State, except for the solid and unshaken Catholic vote. Even in Connecticut, at its recent election, it was a mass of ignorant and bigoted Catholic voters, in the worst wards of Hartford and New Haven, that drove the Republicans from power, and placed in office the friends of the Southern oligarchy and the servants of Rome."

And this writer further states, that in New York, and even in Massachusetts, where the Papal Church is held somewhat in check, as well as in the great States of Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, and Missouri, and in nearly all the Western States, the Catholic, joined with the Democratic vote, is sufficient, when Republicanism slumbers, to carry the elections. No man, however infamous his political career, whether traitor, rebel, knave, or public robber, has failed to receive the undivided Romish vote, if he would but serve the interests of the foreign Church. In the rebellion the Papal priesthood lent their sympathies largely to the side of the Slaveholders, and since its suppression they have labored to create a new oligarchy in the South. What kind of a Republic must be left to us when politicians are sunken so low as to cower beneath the threats and yield to the arrogant and unjust demands of Papal Bishops and the Romish press. Already the Democratic party is preparing, in almost every State, for the destruction of the common schools, and yielding to the menace of political ruin held over them by Papal priests. "Unhappy men! they may assume

the garb of freemen, but they still wear in secret the chains of Rome!"

But there is yet one hope left in the political prospect. As a general rule Republican voters and office-holders are free from the dominion of this Papal and priestly domination. No Romish Bishops nor Romish press could drive a Republican Legislature into the commission of so foul a shame as that of the Democrats of Ohio during the last winter.

The insolence to which they bowed their necks and surrendered the last vestige of American manhood, is couched in the following terms, from the *Catholic Telegraph*, to those Democrats who ventured to oppose or protest against the infamous Gaghan Sectarian Bill: "They have dug their political graves; it will be our fault if they do not fill them. When any of them appear again in the political arena we will put upon them a brand that every Catholic citizen will understand." Is not this the spirit of the days of the Gregories and Urbans of the Papal Church?

This spirit must be resisted by all the means in our power. Will American citizens—Republicans or Democrats, who love our country, our form of government, and the institutions transmitted from our fathers—stand by and see this proud, grasping, intolerant, and persecuting power of Rome advance in its assault on all that we hold dear—seeking to extinguish the fires of intellectual and spiritual freedom, and to bind this nation hand and foot to its triumphal car?

We appeal to the Republicans of the country, of every creed and shade. Here, at last, our common enemy stands forth, fully disclosed, asserting his arrogant demands, and dragging after him the Democratic party as his enforced and abject slave. The issue is made up; and the question is, shall that Romanism, which has cursed the world for more than a thousand years, be allowed to repeat in these United States, at such a time as this in the history of the world, its monstrous exactions and oppressions? The old world is casting off this loathsome abomination, which has so long bestrided the heart of

Europe like a hideous night-mare, and sat like a ruinous incubus on the breast of the nations! Can it be possible that this dangerous and hated power will succeed in its designs on the soil of free America?

Shall not all men who are familiar with the story of Romanism in the past, unite together to defeat its nefarious purposes, and to rescue the Republic from the horror and shame the Papacy would inflict upon it! It is high time that we were organizing for the final overthrow of this Beast of darkness and corruption. Let there be a nucleus at once

formed in every town, village, hamlet in the land, of those who are willing to stand up for the doctrines, the principles, and the customs of our fathers. Let the insolent and insatiable demands of the Priesthood be met with a scornful and determined opposition. The simple truth is, we must now destroy the Romish Church, as a *political power* in the land, or it will be sure to destroy us, and the time-honored and noble institutions which have hitherto constituted the boast and the pride of the citizens of this Republic.

## BUILDING ASSOCIATIONS.

With the view of showing workingmen, and especially young men, who are just entering upon the period of active manhood, what may be accomplished by a systematic saving of a portion of their weekly or monthly earnings, it is proposed to present briefly the practical workings and some of the advantages of Building Associations. These organizations are now attracting more attention in Europe and in many portions of the United States, than ever before. Where they are in the hands of good managing officers, they can scarcely fail of securing great popularity as a means of training the industrial classes to habits of economy and accumulation.

### FEATURES AND OBJECTS OF BUILDING ASSOCIATIONS.

These associations have as a main feature the advantage of bringing the money-lender and the borrower together in legitimate business relations. The members are composed mainly of two classes, one of which has his surplus weekly earnings to invest, while the other class are desirous of obtaining a loan for a specified purpose. Under the constitution and rules of those associations, both of those parties are advantageously accommodated.

While building associations are, in the main, conducted on the principle of monthly deposits, by shareholders, and a monthly sale of the receipts so obtained to the highest bidders, yet, in detail, there are a variety of modes of management. But, in all cases, if

conducted on the basis of fair dealing and strict integrity, they are entitled to the fullest confidence as a safe investment—as much or even more so, as a deposit in a savings bank. The annual return in interest to depositors, who do not become borrowers, varies according to the demand for money at the monthly sales, and the general care and economy with which the association is managed by its officers. Generally, the interest earned ranges from 10 to 15 per cent.; but it may fall to six or seven per cent., and, not unfrequently, rises to eighteen or twenty.

Before showing the workings of these associations in the United States, an illustration of their working results in England may not be inappropriate in this connection. The "Workingman's City," at Lavender Hill, in southern London, is being built up by an association, the features of whose organization differ somewhat from those of the United States, as the reader will find on perusing the following description of the Shaftesbury Park estate, condensed from the *Manchester Co-operative News*:

### THE SHAFTESBURY PARK ESTATE.

"A Workman's City" exists at Lavender Hill, in Southern London, and on Saturday, an interesting ceremony showed that its progress had been considerable. Seven years ago, the wholesale destruction of houses for railway purposes in London and other large towns led to the establishment of a company called the Artizans', Labourers', and General Dwellings Company Limited, for the purpose of supplying the want thus created. It was felt if railways destroyed, they might



also be used to create; and that if they thinned the population in the heart of our large towns, good would come of it, if at the same time working men were enabled by their means to migrate to the suburbs, and travel easily and cheaply to and from their work. At the end of 1867 the share capital in hand was only £500; at the end of 1868, it was £1,800; then in the following year it rose to £3,000; in 1870 it was £5,000; in 1871, £18,500; in 1872, £52,000; and at the end of 1873, it was £112,196. The list of shareholders includes four dukes—Devonshire, Manchester, Norfolk, and Rutland—with many other members of the peerage, six bishops, Archbishop Manning, and a considerable number of members of the House of Commons. The company is entirely unsectarian and non-political, and among the shareholders are a good many working-men. They figure, however, in large proportions among the depositors. The deposits have gradually grown from £800, at the end of 1867, to £23,600, at which amount they stood in December, 1873. The assets of the company from these two sources at the beginning of the current year were thus £135,800, their share capital being nominally a quarter of a million.

The company have acquired estates near Liverpool, Manchester and Birmingham, and houses are being built. The Shaftesbury Park Estate of 40 acres stands about midway between Clapham Junction and the Wadsworth-road station of the Clapham and Dover line. In August, 1872, the Earl of Shaftesbury laid the foundation-stone. In November, 1873, Lord Shaftesbury opened the new town, which, even by that time, had arisen; and on Saturday he presided at another formal opening of another part of the estate. Last November about 350 houses had been finished. There are now 479 completed houses, and before winter sets in it is expected that 270 more will be fit for habitation—altogether 749 houses. When the whole plan of building has been carried out, the park will contain 1,200 houses, of four distinct classes. Class 1 contains eight rooms—a front parlour with a bay window, a back room for meals, a kitchen, with dresser and kitchener, a small larder, a scullery, fitted with copper and sink, a closet, ashpit, and coal cellar; while on the first floor there are three bed-rooms and a little bath-room. Class 2 are seven-roomed houses without the bath-room. Class 3 have six, and class 4, five rooms, of which two are bedrooms. Gas and water are laid to every house. Ventilators are supplied to each room; and the drainage (except surface water) is carried back from the closet and sink in the rear, so that no drain passes under any of the houses. Then there is a temporary lecture-hall, which will

hold 700 or 800 people, and at present is used for a temporary school. Board schools will soon be built. A site is left for a co-operative store. Two acres and a-half are reserved for a park and recreation ground; and Clapham Common and Battersea Park are not far off. Baths and washhouses are also projected. Not one public house or beershop will be allowed on the estate, though the people are not all teetotalers, and the brewer's cart regularly delivers a modest cask at many of the houses. By and by this community will number 8,000—a larger population than many Parliamentary boroughs possess. The houses are caught up long before they are finished. In some cases they are taken on the strength of the plan before they are begun, and there are now on the books over 1,200 applicants for homes still to be erected. The last annual dividend of the company was six per cent., and previously they had divided seven and a-half per cent., but, as Lord Shaftesbury explained on Saturday, the shareholders themselves thought this amount too high, and took the novel course of requesting that it might be reduced. The company buy the freehold. They also build the houses, having their own workshops and steam saw-mills, and buying building materials, with the necessary house fixtures, in the best and cheapest markets. The houses have been built to a great extent upon the co-operative system. There has been no contractor or master builder. The work has been let out, under foremen in each branch to the bricklayers, carpenters, painters, plasterers, slaters, and plumbers employed, and under the piecework system, which has throughout been adopted, union and non-union workmen have worked harmoniously together, and there has been no cause for the intervention of the "arbitrators." Lord Shaftesbury, Lord Lichfield, and Lord Elcho. Many of the workmen are shareholders in the company; many of them, again, live in the houses they have helped to build. "The houses built by the company," the directors say, "are better than those usually erected, and yet can be sold at equally low prices in consequence of the materials saved by the workmen, who are shareholders, and have earned 40 per cent. more than their ordinary wages." The occupiers are of three classes: Tenants paying a weekly rental; occupiers who have bought their house and are paying off the capital sum, with interest, by monthly or other periodical payments; and leaseholders who have paid down the whole purchase money in a lump sum. While the company buy the freehold they only part with a leasehold interest, and they rely upon ground rents for a source of profit. The price of the houses ranges from £170 to £310,

on a lease of 99 years, subject to annual ground rents of £2. 12s., £3. 3s., £3. 12s., and £4. 4s., according to the class of house.

At the opening proceedings on July 18th, Lord Shaftesbury spoke of the wonder achieved in two years by turning what was then a howling wilderness into a town. He predicted that the success of Shaftesbury Park would have a great moral effect far and wide, at home and abroad, because it showed to what a high level the working classes could attain chiefly by their own exertions. By means of this company 8,000 people would hereafter be brought from the overcrowded, pestilential centres of London and planted in healthy homes in the pure air, amid pleasant surroundings, with every reasonable provision for happy domestic life and social enjoyment. The inhabitants were all of one mind upon one point—they would not have a single public house upon the estate. Loud cheers from the people showed that, in this modified form, the Permissive Bill was popular with them. "You won't have a gin-palace, or any place for the sale of intoxicating liquor," continued Lord Shaftesbury. "No, nor a pawn-shop," exclaimed a bystander, whereupon Lord Shaftesbury improved the occasion by showing how drunkenness paved the way to the pawn-shop as it did to the workhouse and the gaol. Here were well-constructed houses, with fine broad streets, and a sober, industrious, happy population of about 2,600, who by a self-imposed restriction banished the sale of intoxicating liquor from their midst, and who, by their good conduct, had produced such an impression upon a lady who came to see the estate, that she said, "I will take 1,000 shares the very moment I get home." Lord Shaftesbury enumerated the advantages which the inhabitants of the park would enjoy, including plenty of day schools, and Sunday schools, penny banks, and a band of hope. For reviving throughout England, he said, the true spirit of sobriety and good order there was nothing like the band of hope, which laid hold of the children and trained them up to be steady and sober. The shareholders in the company came from every class of society, and the tenants on the estate comprised every description of labor. The value of the houses already purchased, amounts to £25,000, of which £3,200 has been paid, the rest of the repayments extending from five to twenty-one years. The ultimate cost of the Lavender Hill and the Harrow estates, he was told, would not be less than a million sterling. Was not this a proof of what might be done by association among working men? See how such dwellings tended to sobriety, order, and thrift! All the working men wanted was sympathy and a little co-operation from the classes above them,

who called upon them for the same. Neither class could do without the other, and what he aimed at was the union of all classes. The Chairman then called on the Prime Minister, who, he said, had come there to express his great sympathy with their work.

#### MANAGEMENT OF BUILDING ASSOCIATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES.

In Pennsylvania, and especially in Philadelphia, and the neighboring towns and villages, Building Associations have proved to be of very great usefulness to the working classes. But the members, to make the best possible use of them should become well-informed in reference to the details in the mode of managing them. Some months ago the New York *Times* called for contributions of clear and carefully prepared articles on the practical working of these associations. Among the papers on the subject, written in response to the call, there was one written by "Shareholder" in some of those associations, whose remarks are so much to the point that we present them in condensed form to the readers of *THE REPUBLIC*. They afford a clear insight into the mode of working them in that State, and pretty generally throughout the country. The writer says:

In this town, with about fifteen thousand inhabitants, we have seven of these institutions; and as you do not care where it is, so long as you have the facts in the case, it will be sufficient designation to say that ours is one of the numerous brood of towns clustering under the wings of Philadelphia. Of course we copy a great many Philadelphia ideas, and this notion of building associations is one of them. They are usually called "Saving Funds and Building Associations," their primary object being to afford a man a safe deposit for small amounts of money, letting him make a "building association" of himself, and be his own carpenter or not, as he may choose. These building associations might be called the poor man's stock exchange, and, like that mercurial institution, afford him a secure and slowly profitable investment, or a hazardous and speculative one, according as his humor may lead him to invest. Our association is one of the speculative class, but as it is conducted on the same general principles as all others, I will, with your permission, sketch its rise and progress, and explain wherein it differs from the safe and steady ones. You will see, as we proceed, that these terms are used in a restricted sense, and that it does not fol-

low that the association is affected because one of its members comes to grief.

We started a little more than three years ago, and as a good name is all important for a thing of this kind, and as we expected to find most of our members among the mechanics, we called ours "The Safety Valve Saving Fund and Building Association." Its object was set forth in article 2 of its constitution, as follows:

"The object of this association shall be to secure for its members a safe investment for their funds at a good rate of interest, and to enable them by loans made to purchase real estate, erect buildings, or pay off mortgages; and also to give them an opportunity to obtain homes at moderate cost and on easy terms of payment."

The "Safety-Valve" organized under the General Building Association Act of Pennsylvania, passed in 1859, which permits the issuance of repeated series of shares of the par value of \$200 each, the whole to be paid up by monthly instalments, in ten years at furthest. This law, however, limits the duration of associations organized under it to twenty years, and the successive series must be so arranged that the last one will expire within that time. A new law was passed two years ago enabling building associations to make their charters perpetual, but limiting the capital employed by each, at any one time, to \$1,000,000, and as our association has been reorganized under this act, it now bids fair to live forever. The first series issued consisted of 1,500 shares, par value \$200 a share, and they were quickly taken, the purchasers paying \$2 a share "initiation fee," and \$1 a share every month thereafter as dues. In ten years, or 120 months, these shares will be worth \$200, though the owner will have paid on them only \$122, and in point of fact it is now evident that the first series will "run out," by reason of the shares reaching their full value in about eight years, or ninety-six months. This is where the profit comes in, and so far the investment is as absolutely safe as human plans can be; nothing except gross dishonesty on the part of the officers can affect it. So long as I keep my five shares of "Safety Valve" stock and pay in my \$5 a month regularly I am sure of receiving \$1,000 at the expiration of the series. Or, if at any time I get into "tight papers," and find I need the money, I can, by giving thirty days' notice, draw the whole amount I have paid in, with six per cent. interest from the time it was paid. I cannot lose it, even by my own default, for if I neglect to pay up for six months my name will be stricken off the books and my money returned to me, less "fines, (ten cents a share per month,) costs, and proportion of losses." It is good

stock to have, too, for I can go into the market at any time and sell "Safety Valve" shares, first series, at from eight to fifteen per cent. premium; subsequent shares in proportion. This is the saving fund part of the business. Now turn with me to the building branch, wherein is speculation, and wherein the "Safety Valve" differs from what I might call the orthodox associations.

My five shares of stock will be worth at maturity, \$1,000, consequently, in the estimation of the association, they are worth that amount now for borrowing purposes, and it will lend me that amount on them, of course with good collateral security, at my own price. To illustrate this point let us take the first monthly meeting of the association. On a certain day of every month—on or before which all dues must be paid—the association meets to "sell the money." At this first meeting the Secretary found that he had in his hands proceeds from the sale of the 1,500 shares of first series stock, as follows:

Initiation fees, at \$2 per share.....	\$3,000 00
Dues, at \$1 per share.....	1,500 00
Total.....	\$4,500 00

This amount was put up at auction, only shareholders being allowed to bid, and not more than two shares being sold at one time, though the purchaser had the privilege of bidding again until he had all the money he wanted or until he had bought out the full amount of his shares. Each shareholder who wanted money bid the amount he was willing to pay for the use of it. The average premium paid for the money sold that day was \$87 28; it never went so low as that again.

My neighbor, Tom McAnally, had never heard of a building association before this one was started, but when its workings were explained to him he was quite delighted with the idea of "buying a home for himself with other people's money," which was the view he took of it. "Bedad!" said he, "it's jist for all the world, like them stock-brokers and Wall street fellers." Tom took six shares, all he could afford, paid in his twelve dollars for initiation and six dollars for first month's dues, and when selling day came Tom was on hand, in high spirits. The first lot was knocked down to him at \$85, and he insisted on "buying out" all his shares at once; but, with some difficulty, he was made to understand that he could only have two of them at a time. So he watched his chance and secured two shares at eighty-seven and two at ninety, which exhausted his interest. Now, by the rules of the "orthodox" associations, Tom's premiums would have been deducted at once, and instead of receiving the \$1,200 he expected, \$524 would have been

deducted, and the remainder, \$876, only given him; while from that time until the expiration of his series, he would have to pay \$2 monthly on each share, instead of \$1—the extra dollar being a fixed sum imposed on each share “bought out.” It is only fair to add, however, that this would be a very extreme case for an orthodox association, their premiums rarely exceeding forty or fifty for the first year of a series, and “tapering off” as it grows older, the minimum accepted being about as follows, the loan in each case being \$200:

First year.....\$40	Sixth year.....\$30
Second year.....35	Seventh year.....16
Third year.....32	Eighth year.....12
Fourth year.....28	Ninth year.....8
Fifth year.....24	Tenth year.....4

This is also a feature of the “Safety-Valve,” but it is scarcely necessary to say that it is one seldom or never acted on. Borrowers prefer the alternative provision, which gives them the whole of their money, (with the exception of a few dollars for necessary legal expenses,) the premium to be paid in monthly installments, based on the number of months it has to run. In Tom’s case, the series was expected to run for eight years, and as he bought at the expiration of the first month, he had ninety-five months in which to pay. The amount of premium to be paid each month, then, on his six shares was \$2 75, which, added to his regular monthly dues of \$1 a share, made his monthly payments amount to \$8 75. Tom now had \$1,200, in cash—or thought he had; but I am telling his story to illustrate how “greenhorns” may deceive themselves in such matters. When he went to the Secretary to get a warrant for his money, he was met with a demand for his “collaterals.” This was a poser, for the only idea Tom had of collaterals was that they were some new-fangled kind of lateral railroads—his position of brakeman on a railroad with numerous branches having familiarized him with the latter term. When he comprehended what was required, however, he thought the best plan was to tell his whole story, and he proceeded to explain how he had “in his eye” a nice little piece of land which he could buy for \$800, and by mortgaging that, and using the balance of his saving fund money, he thought he could put up a house. I am sorry to say that he was cruelly undeceived. He was told that, while an arrangement could be made by which the association would buy the land for him and give him possession of it, it would only allow him on it two-thirds the value the land would bring at sheriff’s sale, said value to be determined by the Committee of Investigation; and that then the association would secure itself by retaining a first mortgage on

the property. Poor Tom had no more to say. All his hopes were blighted, and the views he now expressed of the association which was to “buy him a home with other people’s money,” were anything but complimentary. His case came before the Board of Directors—which passes upon all loans—at its next meeting, and, as a matter of course, the loan was refused, the sale canceled, and the money covered into the treasury. Tom was very angry for a while, but some judicious friend explained the plan of the association more fully to him, and persuaded him to let his shares stand. They are now worth about \$43 60 apiece, and Tom already considers himself a capitalist.

This shows that the “Safety-Valve” is not a very good company to “buy out” of. But now suppose Tom had taken six shares in the Puddlers’ Association, which is conducted on the “orthodox principle,” he would probably have had to pay a premium of \$50, as that is pretty nearly the average in the “Puddlers.” Let us say he bought out six shares at \$50. Three hundred dollars—six times \$50—would have been deducted, and \$900 handed to him, he giving the Association a mortgage, &c., as in the other case. Of course he would need to have other money to make this available, and we shall see, further on, how he gets it. At present we will suppose he has it. He buys a house with his \$900, and lives in it. You can’t buy much of a house for \$900; but then Tom isn’t particular and I am only supposing a case. In nine years, (in which time the Puddlers’ is expected to run out,) his monthly payments will amount to \$1,290, \$5 for first month’s dues, and \$12 for dues each month thereafter. The initiation fee goes to the expense fund, and is not counted. Then his collaterals are handed back to him, and he owns his house in fee simple. This seems, at the first glance, like paying \$1,290 for a \$900 house; but we must not forget the item of rent—which Tom will tell you is no small item. A \$900 house ought to bring in \$8 a month rent, and as Tom takes possession of his house at once, he saves this amount, or rather, he pays his rent to the association in discharge of his indebtedness. In nine years—counting as before, 107 months, his rent, at \$8 a month, would amount to \$856. Had he kept on paying this without joining the association, he would have nothing at the end of the time to show for it; as it is, he has a home of his own, worth \$900, all paid for, and it has cost him \$434—the amount paid in excess of his rent, which he would have paid in either case.

But I said I would explain how Tom can buy a house without a dollar except what the association gives him. To do this we will drop the “Safety-Valve,” which is too

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costly for us, and suppose that Tom has taken six shares in the "Puddlers." In four years he can have money enough to buy a better house than the one we have been figuring on—another illustration of the adage that time is money. In four years he will have paid on each of his shares \$48; on which interest at the rate of six per cent. is allowed for the time each payment has been in, making the value of each \$53.88. His six shares are therefore worth \$323.28, and if he chooses to withdraw from the association, he is entitled to that amount of money on them. But instead of retiring he buys out his shares. The lowest premium accepted at the beginning of the fifth year, which he has now reached, is \$24, as will be seen by the above table. Practically, competition will run it up to about \$30. The premium on six shares at \$30 is \$180, which is deducted from his \$1,200, and he receives \$1,020. He can buy property now to the full extent of this sum, for he does not need the overplus to secure the mortgage; the \$323.28 is security enough. Or, if he still clings to the \$900 house, while he has not enough security to warrant the association in lending him more than \$900 on it, he can expend the remainder in making permanent improvements on it, or can cover it into the treasury of the association by way of advance payments. Then he goes on paying his \$2 a month, as before, until the series runs out. To recapitulate: He pays in \$4 a month for four years, and then is able to buy a \$1,000 house, his money, meanwhile, being safer and more profitably disposed than it would be in a savings bank. This is the work of a savings fund and building association, legitimately conducted.

As I have already intimated, we of the "Safety-Valve" go in for money rather than for permanent homes. We pay extravagant premiums because we expect to use the money only a short time, and then return it—which the laws of our association permit us to do—when the premium instantly ceases. A couple of months ago one man had the temerity to buy out four shares at 505, (an actual fact,) a premium which would utterly swamp a man of limited income. He must make a big strike in some speculation, or must have other money at his disposal, in order to stand it. If he fails, the association gets his securities at much less than their value, which is all the better for the cautious ones who do not buy out. You have probably guessed before this that the "Safety-Valve" is an association actually in existence, the true name and location of which I do not choose to tell. This association has now been in existence a little over three years. Its profits have averaged a little over eighteen per cent. per year; its premiums average

from 94 to 389 each month, and last month, money being very tight, the average premium paid was 478. All these extravagant premiums are secured by good collateral, and as a consequence, though some of its members may suffer, the association itself is making money at a rate which would not be safe in any other investment I know of. The "Safety-Valve" is a good association for speculative people to work off their extra energy; but for substantial benefit in the way of securing cheap homes, I fear I must recommend the "orthodox" plan. Both, however, are good investments for men who do not speculate; both are absolutely safe, and both are certain to pay in the end, if one has only patience to wait for the end.

In this hasty sketch, of course I have explained only the general principles of building associations. The details can be obtained from the Secretary of any of them.

These associations are becoming more and more popular every year. They are all over the country. There are six hundred of them in Philadelphia and suburbs. For young men who wish to "make a beginning," by a monthly saving, they offer favorable inducements on a safe basis. We wish young men would learn that one of the main secrets of success, is in saving.

#### THE USUAL MODE OF LOANING BY THESE ASSOCIATIONS.

The April number of the *Old and New* tells us how the capital is loaned by many of these associations:

Once a month the available funds of the association are offered to the highest bidder [the one who will give the largest discount from the par value of the share, usually \$200] in open meeting, and all persons are allowed to bid, whether shareholders or not. But all accepted bidders, if not members already, are required to become such by paying one dollar (one month's dues) on each share they bid for; and their deposit is retained whether the money is loaned or not. If the bidder's security is found sufficient, the loan is given him, after deducting therefrom the amount, if any, previously due on his shares from the beginning, and also the premium he has agreed to pay. This looks like a heavy discount for the borrower to bear, amounting, as it sometimes does, to more than half the loan of which he nominally pays interest. But in fact the profits of the association, to which he becomes entitled by these deductions from his loan, are so great as to neutralize this heavy discount, and reduce his rate of interest to about what

is paid by the customers of safe banks in Boston; that is, from five to eight per cent. The obligation given by the borrower to the association is nominally for the repayment of the whole loan, but really only for the payment of the monthly dues on the stock, which he takes as security, and legal interest on the loan itself, until such time as the association is able to pay each shareholder the par value of his shares, that is, \$200. When this result is reached, the association owes a borrower on five shares \$1,000; and, if the borrower owes the association a thousand dollars, then one side of the account cancels the other, the loan is paid off, and the property held as security is released and becomes the unencumbered property of the late borrowing shareholder, who finds that

he has paid, perhaps, only six per cent. interest on his loan, although at one time it looked as if he were paying fifteen or twenty per cent.

As the final goal of each association is the par value of \$200 a share, the members are interested to have the goal reached in as short a time as possible, and, of course, the greater the yearly profit on each share, the shorter the time. The average time in the smaller associations is eight years and a half, but some "series" have matured in seven years and nine months. In the latter case, the shareholders paid in only \$93, and received back \$200, getting a clear profit of nearly \$14 a year on an investment of \$12. This is an extreme case, but it has occurred, and it may occur again.

## ELEMENTS OF WEALTH IN THE SOUTH.

There is no insuperable barrier to the States of the southern section becoming, at an early day, one of the most prosperous portions of the Union. It was claimed in years gone by that cotton was king, but he, or what is the same thing, his power, was under bonds. There is every opportunity for cotton to resume its regal authority, and make not only the Union but the world tributary to its dominion. It is true his arbitrary powers are somewhat curtailed, but his magnificent sway will be more largely felt than ever.

Thorough and continued experimenting by England and other countries in the cultivation of cotton abroad has not yet resulted in complete success. India and Egypt may yet become cotton districts; but so long as the Southern States continue to offer a supply its cultivation in those countries will not be rapidly developed. The Feejee Islands, lately made a possession of Great Britain, are now producing a fair quality of cotton, but the quantity is limited. Still, under proper management and an urgent necessity for perseverance, the quality of the article may be greatly improved and the quantity largely increased. But after all, the quality of the article produced in the Southern States, and the opportunities now offering to double or quadruple the crop, are sufficient guarantees that while the empire of

King Cotton is the civilized world, his headquarters continue in America, and are not likely soon to be changed.

Among the reasons for arriving at this conclusion, are (1) the favorable peculiarities of soil and climate for the growth of the cotton plant; (2) the immense area of unimproved cotton lands—both bottom and upland—which only await capital and enterprise to bring them under successful cultivation; and (3) the element of labor represented in the five millions of colored population.

Whether it comes specially from the soil or the climate, or what is more probable, from both, it is generally admitted by English manufacturers that there is no cotton equal in quality to the American product. In working up Egyptian and India cotton—and especially the latter—it is found to be absolutely necessary to mix American cotton with it in order to improve the quality of the goods manufactured from the product. This alone gives the United States cotton a prestige that cannot easily be overcome.

Again, the breadth of uncultivated cotton lands indicate conclusively that, under intelligent management, the South can supply the world with cotton for centuries to come. The following are cotton States, and opposite the name of each are shown the total area of each in acres, and the number of acres cultivated:

TOTAL

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Alabam  
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TOTAL AREA AND AREA UNDER CULTIVATION IN THE COTTON STATES.

States.	Area in acres.	Acres cultivated.
Virginia.....	26,240,000	8,165,040
North Carolina.....	32,459,560	5,258,742
South Carolina.....	21,760,100	3,060,739
Georgia.....	37,120,000	6,331,856
Florida.....	37,931,520	7,617,172
Alabama.....	32,462,880	5,662,204
Mississippi.....	39,179,840	4,203,146
Tennessee.....	39,181,000	6,843,278
Arkansas.....	38,408,720	1,850,824
Louisiana.....	26,303,000	2,045,640
Texas.....	175,877,840	2,964,836
Kentucky.....	24,114,200	8,013,850
Total.....	506,749,960	55,001,124

Virginia is not now, strictly speaking, a cotton-growing State, yet portions of its soil are well adapted to that crop, and under proper cultivation the product in that State, though now limited annually to a few bales, might be largely increased. These figures, however, show the entire percentage of land under cultivation for cotton and other crops, and they reveal the fact that only about nine and a quarter per cent. of all the fertile acres of the South are yet improved. And even this fractional portion is so imperfectly developed that it is somewhat of a mystery how a crop comes to maturity, year after year, affording so large an average product. If seven per cent. of the cotton lands have, under unskilled cultivation, yielded an annual average of about \$300,000,000 worth of cotton, what will be the value of the product when 50 or 75 per cent. of the entire cotton area is put under a cotton crop, cultivated by intelligent and skilled labor? The populations of the world are calling for just such a product. It is wanted now; it will be needed more next year, and still more each successive year, as the world grows in population and civilization. What a prospect is thus afforded for the successful development of the cotton-bottoms of the South. The total annual product of the precious metals within the Union is not of more value than one-third of the present annual cotton yield.

In addition to the superior advantages of the Southern States for the cultivation of cotton, the varieties of soil and climate present every opportunity for the successful

cultivation of sugar, tobacco, rice, and tropical and other fruits, aside from the great staple products of wheat, corn, and vegetables.

In sugar cultivation alone there is a vast source of wealth, and Louisiana's opportunity was never fairer than at present to make this industry, by rapid development, the source of immense revenues to her people. Recent reports show an immense destruction of sugar plantations in Cuba, and the indications are that this will be continued until this great Cuban industry is totally destroyed. The insurgents have come to the conclusion that Spain holds with persistent grasp upon Cuba, only because of the value of her revenues to the Spanish Government, and the speediest way to deprive her of these is to destroy the sugar plantations throughout the island. It is painful to reflect upon this resolution. The world will suffer, and no portion of it more than the United States. Our importers pay Cuba some \$65,000,000 annually for sugar and molasses alone. What will be the result if this wholesale destruction of sugar plantations continues? A partial list of the sugar estates destroyed in three districts alone, between March 1 and April 20, shows that six plantations, with their cane mills, buildings and other improvements were destroyed within that time in the District of Cienfuegos, representing 7,800 hogsheads, and worth \$1,900,000; nine in the District of Villa Clara, representing 8,600 hogsheads, and valued at \$1,460,000, and eighteen in the District of Sagua le Grande, representing 45,700 hogsheads, valued at \$3,000,000. The work is still going on with great vigor. The entire number of estates destroyed up to about the middle of April, is reported at one hundred, valued at \$7,200,000, but worth previous to the war at least \$25,000,000.

The planters are thoroughly discouraged, and are abandoning their plantations in despair, under the conviction that if they cultivate a crop the main portion of it will continue to be absorbed in oft-repeated taxation, till finally destroyed by the torch of the insurgents. Where, then, shall we look for our supply of sugar? The product of the

West India Islands is scarcely sufficient for the foreign demand. We can obtain little aid from that source. Louisiana, hitherto, has given only a small percentage of the sugar and molasses used in the United States, but the product is susceptible of great development, and may be extended successfully to the adjoining States.

Another of the elements of future wealth and power in the South, is the supply of labor in the five millions of colored population, and their increase. It is conceded by writers on political economy that immigrants—male and female—average, in money value to the States in which they take up their residence, a thousand dollars each. If a horse is worth \$200, a man is worth to the nation \$1,500. When in bonds, those colored men and women in the South sold for \$800 to \$1,500. They are worth more now, and the only difference is that formerly the master owned all, and the slave no portion of his own value; while now his money value is held in joint interest between himself and his employer—he, however, controlling his capital, (represented in his labor,) while formerly the control was invested in his owner. He is now worth to himself and his employer and the State, in money value, more than ever before, and his value will be largely increased by education, practical training in the mechanical arts, and in habits of application and industry. Apart from the awful responsibilities of the crime of murder, and considered in a pecuniary point of view, every life taken of able-bodied colored men, is a positive loss to the State of an average thousand dollars. As a mere matter of economy, therefore, its folly is inexcusable. But political excitement is rapidly abating in the South, and it is reasonable to believe that this promiscuous sacrifice of life has ceased.

In short, the South is about entering upon a new era. Old things have passed away, and all has been changed for the better, and with security to life, popular education, freedom of opinion, respect for personal rights, and universal industry, this vast and highly favored section of the country is about to enter upon a greater prosperity than it has before experienced, and ultimately rival the

most prosperous States in the Union. May all good citizens bid the New South God-speed, and do all in their power to hasten the day of her prosperity.

**A GOOD EXAMPLE FOR BUSINESS MEN.**—In a notice of the death of John Harper, one of the Harper brothers, it was said: "After Mr. Harper had left his office for the day and retired to his home on Fifth avenue, he would give up all thought of business matters and would refuse to converse on business affairs." That fact should be painted in white letters on a black background, and framed in gilt and hung over the desk of every business man in the land. And over the portals of every business man's home, should be the warning to those who would thrust business into that house: "No business transacted here." You cannot throw a stone into a crowded street that you will not hit a man broken in body, if not in mind, early in life, through the wear and tear of business, which has been permitted to follow his every step from morning till night, and even the hours which should be devoted to sleep. This very day, stopping at the post-office, one gentleman could not wait the getting out of the postoffice corridor before he must begin to open his mail, while another gentleman was passing from the office, and in the street was breaking the envelopes and reading the enclosures. Not even the short walk to his place of business, of a pleasant morning, was permitted free from business cogitations. Two-thirds of our business men reserve until evening the most taxing part of their day's work, and pass their evenings, even to the small hours, in devising plans for the next day's operation. Of course they break down before they have reached the meridian of their lives, while Harper, who drives business care from him as he turns from his place of business, devoting the time not necessary for sleep to recreation, and Vanderbilt, who in the evening calls for his game of whist,—reach good old ages, sound in body and mind.

FERNANDO WOOD is assured by the *Rochester Union* that "his post of honor in the House is his seat upon the floor."

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## COST OF LIVING.\*

While the people of this country are constantly complaining of how much more it costs to support a family now than it did twenty or thirty years ago, and some newspapers refer to the same subject every two or three weeks, it may afford some relief to those who are thrown into a state of perplexity about it, to know that the people and the papers on the other side of the Atlantic are harping upon the same string. It may be true, as asserted by some writers in England, that it does not necessarily cost more to maintain the family of the son than it costs to maintain the family of the father in that country, because while some things have risen others have fallen in price, and when the gains and losses are footed up the latter will exceed the former. And if sons were content to live in the same style in which their fathers lived, there would not be much difference in the cost. Animal food is double the price there that it was formerly; the same may be said of butter, while eggs and milk command much higher figures than hitherto. The repeal of the crown laws, and the free admission of breadstuffs, has not reduced the price of bread as a general thing. It fluctuates from time to time, according to circumstances, but taking one year with another, it is about stationary. Fuel is cheaper in many localities than it was forty years ago, owing to the facilities afforded for its transportation by railroad. House rents have increased at least one-third, but the houses of the fathers were less capacious and convenient than those in which the sons now reside. Taxes, which are the complaint everywhere in monarchies, as well as republics, have largely increased, but some of the English felicitate themselves that while they have to pay higher "rates and taxes" than their ancestors had to pay, with them they enjoy luxuries unknown and undreamt of in days gone by. The wages of some classes of servants have risen from one-third to one-half, but while the in-door servants are paid more, the out-door servants have no increase of wages conceded them. In the matter of dress, men's clothing has not increased in

price, and as for women's apparel it would cost no more than in the days of their grandmothers, if it were not for the tyrannical sway which fashion exercises over them. The extravagance in dress is so great that an attempt to figure it up is abandoned in despair. As regards education, it may be had at as low a price as formerly, but only in cheap and inferior schools, for tuition in which, considering that no return would be received for the outlay, any price would be extravagant. But what is true of grammar schools, is also true of colleges and universities. The cost of supporting a student in these has increased somewhat, but the increase is compensated for in the improvements which have been made and the superior intellectual training which is received. Upon the whole, it is considered by some that the cost of living need not be greater now than it was in the past, provided people will content themselves with the same kind of food, the same quality of dress, the same unpretentious homes, and the same inferior education with which their fathers and mothers were satisfied.

In some respects these remarks would apply to the United States, and in others they would not. That many people live more extravagantly than there is any necessity for, so far as increased comfort is concerned, is admitted, but necessarily it costs more to live here now than it did twenty-five years ago, when flour was only three dollars a barrel, coffee eight cents a pound, small bone sirloin and tenderloin steaks eight cents, and houses which now command a rent of from four to nine hundred dollars, only brought from one hundred and seventy-five to three hundred dollars a year, and maids-of-all-work, who did all the work well and without a murmur, only received from seventy-five cents to a dollar and a quarter a week. There are very few articles that are as cheap now as they were then, and taking into account the quality, certainly none. The most fashionable boot-makers in the city didn't charge more than six dollars for the finest pair of calf-skin boots turned out of

\* *Pittsburgh Daily Dispatch* May 8.

their establishments. Forty to fifty dollars was considered rather an extravagant price for a suit of fine broadcloth, and overcoats were furnished by merchant tailors from one fifth to one fourth less than they can be furnished now. There is a considerable shrinkage in the value of many articles since the time of the war, but in almost everything that enters into the keeping of a family there is a considerable rise in price as compared with the markets twenty-five years ago, so that the cost of living here is now much greater than it was then. But if conformity

is had to the extravagant modes of the times it would be difficult to estimate how much more it takes to maintain a family now than it did then. That most people could reduce their household expenses is true, but with flour twice as dear, coal fully three times higher, and most other staple commodities increased in price, the working and middle classes of society could not by any means live on the same wages or income that they lived on in former times. Our wilful waste is proverbial, but our necessary wants have greatly increased in price.

### ELEMENTS OF NATIONAL WEALTH.\*

The news journals of the country are just now congratulating the people of the United States on the large amount of agricultural products exported for sale during the year 1874, which is stated, as per invoice, in round numbers at \$456,000,000. This large sum is itemized as follows :

Cotton.....	\$215,500,000
Cereals, flour, meal, bread, farina, &c.....	142,100,000
Beer, bacon, hams, butter, cheese, milk, eggs, fish, preserved meats, oyster, pork, and garden vegeta- bles, &c.....	76,000,000
Farm animals, fruits, hides, hay, hops, oil cake, rice, seeds, tal- low, &c.....	22,600,000
Total.....	\$456,000,000

This may be treated as a surplus; that is in excess of the consumption by the forty millions of people residing in this country. And such a surplus indicates the immense capabilities of the farming and planting interests in the United States. But it is worthy of consideration, whether this is the best use which could be made of our surplus agricultural products.

The wealth of a nation in its most elementary form consists of fertility of soil, a salubrious climate, minerals in the mines, native forests, and skilled and unskilled labor. The productability of mines, fields and forests, is the gift of the Great Creator, and in the absence of human labor and skill, has no commercial value. But when reduced to individual possession under the laws of civil society, these elements may be

regarded as somewhat in the nature of capital deposited in bank or locked up in coffers, on which, by the application of labor, the owners may draw to meet the current demands for consumption. In the absence of these resources no amount of labor and skill could possibly build up a great nation. Every bushel of wheat taken from the soil, every ton of coal or iron taken from the mines, and every thousand feet of lumber taken from the forest, reduces the original capital, and unless exchanged for an equivalent value, diminishes the national wealth. When the capacity of the field to produce grain or grass is entirely exhausted, the field becomes worthless to the farmer, as is the exhausted mine or denuded forest to the owner.

But these elementary commodities acquire additional commercial value by the application of labor. The chemical elements found in the soil, brought out by the husbandman in the form of grain and hay and other vegetables, possess the added value of the cost of labor and skill employed in their production. And so with each transformation or change of condition; as when the grain is converted into flour, and the flour into bread; or, when the hay and grain are converted into pork, beef, hides, tallow and lard, and the hides into leather, the leather into boots, shoes or other useful commodities; timber into lumber, lumber into houses, barns, fences, ships, etc., mineral into pig iron, pig into bars, bars into nails, edge-

\* *Washington Chronicle*, May 14, 1875.

The farmer, who after producing his crop of wheat, changes it into flour, or who converts his grain and grasses into live stock, such as horses, cattle, swine, etc., derives a double profit; the planter, who having baled his cotton, converts it into thread, and the thread into cloth, and the cloth into garments, will derive the added value of the labor and skill required for each transformation; and so on until each of these original elements has been brought to its final higher value in the domestic economies of human life. And it should be borne in mind in this connection that the margin of profit to the operator in such transformation is greater or less, as greater or less skill is needed in the workmanship. The value of a day's labor of a farmer is less than that of the miller; the wages of a laborer in a mine, than a man at the forge—of a cotton picker, than that of a weaver or tailor, and so on to the end of the chapter.

Hence a nation that sells its raw cotton in the bale must derive less profit than the nation that spins, weaves, and converts it into garments and sells the ultimate product. And a nation that sells its breadstuffs, meats and other raw material, requiring in its production only the rudest forms of labor, must ultimately become comparatively poor and dependent.

The reason for this conclusion ought to be too obvious to need argument or illustration. In the transformation of the raw material into many of the ultimate forms of value, higher skill, activity of mind, and even genius, are required. Operatives of the latter class readily avail themselves of the aids of science in the production and application of machinery in the prosecution of their business, and drive this machinery with water or steam. A steam engine of one thousand horse-power will put forth as much force, under the guidance of a single engineer, as an army of *seven thousand stalwart laborers!*

Is it, therefore, wonderful that the owner of this engine, who uses it in spinning and weaving cotton, possesses an immense advantage over the cotton planter, who sells the raw material? The seven thousand

laborers employed by the planter to secure an equivalent force must be fed, and clothed, and sheltered, nursed in sickness, and when the crop is harvested, must continue to be provided for. And the skill needed is so rude that the planter meets with the severest competition in his business, reducing his margin of profits to the lowest paying point. On the other hand the engine consumes only a few tons of coal per day, is never sick or hungry, or in want of raiment, and when required may be run day and night, year in and year out uncomplainingly; and if idle costs little until again needed. In running it and the concomitant machinery, a higher order of skill being required, the operatives meet with less competition, and are consequently able to secure a larger margin of profits.

A nation that sells its raw material, compared with one that sells the ultimate product of human skill, is like the cotton planter, who attempts with seven thousand untutored laborers in his field, to compete with the one thousand horse-power engine, under the guidance of an intelligent and skilled manufacturer. As certainly as the engine driven by steam can endure more than human muscle, and be kept in motion more economically than an army of common laborers, so certainly will a nation that manufactures raw material surpass in the augmentation of wealth and power, the one which furnishes it with food.

The ultimate object of wise statesmanship should be to secure the people in the enjoyment of all their natural rights of person and property, and to make the nation great and powerful, that it may exert a controlling influence in the exaltation of the human family throughout the world. This final purpose of statesmanship requires the augmentation of numbers, wealth, intelligence and moral refinement, which cannot be achieved by sending our raw material abroad for sale or in exchange for the products of the skill and genius of the people of the enlightened nations of the old world. In this process, our people receive a very small profit, such as can be derived from unskilled labor in mines, fields, and forests, working in com-

petition with the mass of untutored laborers of the whole world, while the nations to whom we sell will reap the larger margin of profits on skilled labor, aided by science, capital, and genius. In other words, we "buck" American muscle against European machinery, guided by the highest intelligence, where competition is less severe.

And it would require no great forecast to perceive, or learned process of reasoning to prove, that if our surplus products of bread and meat were not sent abroad for consumption, they would soon be required at home. For, should we decline to purchase fabrics from abroad, they would be manufactured here.

It is simply a question whether we shall send bread and meat to feed skilled laborers in Europe, and ship back manufactured products in exchange, or bring these skilled artisans and capitalists to our own country as permanent residents. In other words, whether we shall support workshops on the other side of the Atlantic, where the vast profits of their skill augment the capital of other nations, or transfer them to this side, where their numbers and wealth will add to the permanent wealth and power of our own country.

**COLD COMFORT.**—The Democratic party has made up its mind to run the political machine without outside help. Its leaders have come to the conclusion that the recent defeats of the Republican party, mean confidence in the Democratic party. Liberal Republicans, who looked for fat offices under Democratic success, have been already notified that their conversion to the Bourbon faith must be genuine and thorough before they can hope for a show of fellowship in the Democratic camp. Success has made Democracy as bold as a lion, and it wants no more of the milk and water diet on which it has been fed for the past four years. If it lost its policy under Fenton and Schurz, it has found it under Gordon and Lamar. During the next campaign its headquarters will be south of Richmond. State Rights, anti-Civil Rights, and a return to old time Bourbon statemanship, are its objective points. If our Liberal Republican friends

can swallow that heroic dose, let them take up the whiskey jug and follow after the banners of Democracy. If they cannot, the sooner they get back into line the better. There will be no middle ground in 1876. It will be Democracy against Republicanism—the moral force of the old defunct Confederacy, against the moral force of that loyal element which beat back its armies during the great rebellion. We have no fears of the result. Justice and truth, and liberty, are blessed of God, and the party that defends and upholds them must be triumphant.

**MORTALITY AND DENSITY OF POPULATION.**—The British Registrar General has published the annual report of births, deaths and causes of death in London and twenty other large cities for 1874. Of these, London is the most healthy, the death rate being only 22 per 1,000, and the excess of births over deaths 44,788. It is worth noticing that the death rate advances, in almost every case, as the density of population increases. Thus, in London there are 45 persons to each acre of space; in Edinburgh, 47; in Manchester, 82; in Liverpool, 98; in Glasgow, 100. The respective rates of mortality are—London, 22; Edinburgh, 23; Manchester, 30; Liverpool, 32; Glasgow, 31.

The number of sailing vessels built in this country in 1873 was 2,271; in 1874, 2,147. The highest number previous to the war was 2,047, in 1855. The highest number of steamers built in any year before the war was 281, in 1854, while the number built last year was 404. Compared as to tonnage, the shipping built in 1857 was 156,601 tons; in 1874, 432,725 tons.

THERE are eight metals more valuable than gold, their values ranging in the following order: Indium, vanadium, ruthenium, rhodium, palladium, uranium, osmium, and iridium. None of them are found in quantity, nor are they useful in the arts like gold and silver. Indium and vanadium are eight times more valuable than gold.



## FINANCIAL DELUSIONS IN ENGLAND IN 1720.

—In London, besides the original South Sea Company, which began the frenzy, there were started in the course of a few months about two hundred joint stock schemes, many of which, as given in Anderson's History of Commerce, are of almost incredible absurdity. The sum called for by these projects was £300,000,000 sterling, which was more than the value of all the land in Great Britain. Shares in Sir Richard Steel's "fish-pool for bringing fresh fish to London," brought £160 a share! Men paid £70 for "permits," which gave them merely the privilege of subscribing to a sail-cloth manufacturing company not yet formed. There was, indeed, a great trade in "permits" to subscribe to companies only planned. Here are a few of the schemes: For raising hemp in Pennsylvania; "Puckle's machine gun;" settling the Bahamas; "wrecks to be fished for on the Irish coast;" horse and cattle insurance; "insurance and improvement of children's fortunes;" "insurance of losses by servants;" insurance against theft and robbery; insuring remittances; "to make salt-water fresh;" importing walnut trees from Virginia; improving the breed of horses; purchasing forfeited estates; making oil from sunflowers; planting mulberry trees and raising silk-worms; extracting silver from lead; making quicksilver malleable; capturing pirates; "for importing a large number of jackasses from Spain, in order to propagate a larger kind of mules;" trading in human hair; "for fattening of hogs;" "for the encouragement of the industrious;" perpetual motion; making paste-board; furnishing funerals.

There was even a company formed and shares sold for carrying out an "undertaking which shall in due time be revealed." The word "puts," now so familiar in Wall street, appears in these transactions of 1720. "Puts and refusals" were sold in vast amounts. The prices paid for shares during the half year of this mania were as remarkable as the schemes themselves. South Sea shares of a hundred pounds par value reached a thousand pounds. It was a poor share that did not sell at five times its

original price. As in France, so in England, the long heads, like Sir Robert Walpole and Alexander Pope, began to think of "realizing" when they had gained a thousand per cent. or so upon their ventures; and in a very few days realizing in its turn, became a mania; and all those paper fortunes shrunk and crumpled into nothingness.

So many caricatures of these events appeared in Amsterdam and London during the year 1720 that the collection in the British Museum, after the lapse of a hundred and fifty-five years, contains more than a hundred specimens.—*Harper's Magazine*, for June.

FACTORIES VS. FARMS.—Manufactories are magical in their working. On the border of the Connecticut Valley lies a territory rocky and wild, whose people twenty years ago were, like their fathers of happy memory, poor and blessed with many children. The hungry raven passed it hastily by, and even the wild fox refused to make its hole in its hillsides. Through this little valley flowed a tiny brook, which bore away to the Connecticut river the surplus rain and ill-spared soil, the loss of the latter causing the rock surface to spread out wider year by year. A Maine fellow chanced that way, and after frequent libations—not from the brook, but at the grocery—told the gaping farmers the brook was their fortune. Some giggled at this, others shook their heads—all agreed he was either mad or a fool. Incensed at their verdict, he mounted a whisky barrel, and gave them a most sensible talk about co-operative unions, utilizing water-power, etc. When he ended his speech, they wished they hadn't laughed. They went to work. The brook was widened; they dammed it above the village. The farmers pulled down their old blue stockings, and put all their hard money into the enterprise—some fifty, some a hundred, and some a thousand dollars. They built their factories and elected officers. A year ago we passed that place. Twenty-one factories dot that brook, five thousand people dwell about or in that village, which formerly contained a hundred souls, and that community is one of the wealthiest and most intelligent to be found in the Nutmeg State.—*Iron Age*.

## EXECUTIVE AND DEPARTMENT DOINGS.

## THE EXECUTIVE.

## HOURS OF RECEPTION BY THE PRESIDENT.

Until further notice, the President will receive by card, between the hours of eleven and two, except on Tuesdays and Fridays, which being Cabinet days, no one will be received, except Government officials.

## EXTENSIVE NORTHWESTERN WHISKY FRAUDS.

On the 10th of May, a movement against the whisky ring, in which the President and the Secretary of the Treasury have been engaged for two months past, culminated in the seizure of some thirty distilleries and rectifying houses in the cities of St. Louis, Chicago, and Milwaukee. The evidence collected is of a character to insure the present destruction of the whisky ring. It having come to the Secretary's knowledge before he set his investigations on foot, that all official information of action affecting the ring in any part of the country, was promptly communicated to it, in advance, by some person or persons in the internal revenue office, he decided to prosecute the entire inquiry through the Solicitor's Office of the Treasury. The work was intrusted to Major Buford Wilson, and no feature of it was communicated to Commissioner Douglass, or any of his subordinates, until the real work was completed and orders of seizure alone remained to be made. As the law provides that such orders shall come from the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, the details of the work accomplished and the evidence collected were placed in his hands, and some of the facts were intrusted to his subordinates. The President throughout has sustained the Secretary most vigorously, and the moment the main facts of the frauds perpetrated were called to his notice, he cordially co-operated in indorsing every movement necessary to secure success. It has been ascertained that about two-thirds of the whisky shipped from St. Louis, for the last year, has been what is termed "crooked," as whisky which has not paid tax is called. The amount of the fraud in St. Louis alone will not fall below a million dollars annually for the last two years. The

developments at Chicago and Milwaukee are also on a great scale. Illicit whisky has been traced into all the prominent Eastern and Southern cities. Duplicates and even triplicates of stamps or packages bearing the same serial numbers and the same stamps have been discovered, and with several houses it has been the usual thing to enter on the stub of the stamp issued only half the amount of whisky actually shipped under the detached stamp. All the different methods have been discovered, and such transcripts taken in addition as will, when compared with the returns made to the office of the internal revenue, make it possible to trace the larger part of all the illicit traffic which has been carried on for the last year. The collusion of a number of revenue officers at the points named, is established beyond question, and a number of changes will follow this development. Suit will be immediately entered against all the property seized, and against the parties and their bondsmen, and the prospect seems fair that the Government will be able to establish so strong a case as to recover from the property seized an amount nearly, if not quite, equal to the sum total of the frauds perpetrated. No move upon this scale has ever before been undertaken. It has proved most successful in everything, and the results are in every respect of the highest importance.

## STATE DEPARTMENT.

## IMPROPER ABANDONMENT OF A VESSEL.

The State Department has received a communication from Minister Schenck, informing this Government that he has received from Lord Derby, at the suggestion of the Lords of the Committee of the Privy Council for Trade, a copy of a statement made by two seamen of the American brig Nellie Hastings, which vessel appears to have been abandoned under suspicious circumstances on the 13th of last March. A statement is inclosed, signed by the two seamen, to the effect that the vessel left Birkenhead for Singapore, loaded with coal, in March, and that when a few days out the Captain said that she

was sinking; and, having signaled a bark to take the men away, remained on board himself with the chief and second mate to get her instruments. The seamen who made this declaration say that while they were going to the bark they observed that those left on board the brig were using axes on the deck, and shortly afterward, before the captain and those with him were taken away, they assert that the brig was on fire. The statement has been forwarded to the Treasury Department for any action the Secretary may consider proper.

### TREASURY DEPARTMENT.

#### NINETEENTH CALL FOR FIVE-TWENTIES.

Secretary Bristow on Saturday issued the following notification:

By virtue of the authority given by the act of Congress approved July 14, 1870, entitled "An Act to authorize the refunding of the national debt," I hereby give notice that the principal and accrued interest of the bonds herein-below designated, known as "five-twenty bonds," will be paid at the Treasury of the United States, in the city of Washington, on and after the 15th day of August, 1875, and that the interest on said bonds will cease on that day; that is to say coupon bonds known as the Fourth series, act of February 25, 1862, dated May 1, 1862, as follows: \$50—No. 18701 to No. 20300; \$100—No. 48101 to 51600; \$500—No. 25001 to No. 27500; \$1,000—No. 75851 to No. 80650, inclusive. The amount outstanding (embraced in the numbers as above) is \$5,000,000. United States securities forwarded for redemption should be addressed to the "Loan Division of the Secretary's Office."

#### TREASURY DECISIONS.

The Treasury Department has decided that tobacco scraps are subject to duty at the rate of thirty per cent. ad valorem under the tariff for unmanufactured tobacco. The Secretary of the Treasury, in a letter to the Secretary of State, in reply to an inquiry from the United States consul at Christiana, says there is no authority of law for dispensing with the usual fee for the verification of invoices of goods destined for the Centennial Exhibition. In response to an inquiry from the United States consul at Quebec, the Department decides that internal revenue stamps required to be affixed to

imported matches cannot be so affixed prior to their importation into this country.

#### REDEMPTION OF NATIONAL CURRENCY.

The following circular has just been issued from the National Bank Redemption division of the Treasury Department:

In view of the risk to which Assistant Treasurers are subjected in collecting drafts, and in the absence of any law requiring them to perform that service for this agency, the Secretary of the Treasury directs that drafts on New York, Boston and Philadelphia be no longer accepted in reimbursement for national bank notes redeemed. Payment may, however, be made by deposits to the credit of the Treasurer's currency transfer accounts in those cities, as stated in form F. Banks outside of those cities may make the deposits through their correspondents, who may forward the certificates directly to me.

In order to facilitate the issue of new circulating notes by the Comptroller of the Currency, in return for national bank notes redeemed by this agency, the redeemed notes are in all cases delivered to the Comptroller on the same day that my calls are made. The issue of new notes is under the exclusive control of the Comptroller, and any inquiry in regard thereto should be addressed to him.

Delays in forwarding new notes to banks are often due to the exhaustion of their new notes in the Comptroller's hands, and to their failure to order an additional supply in proper season. Banks may avoid such delays by keeping an account of the amount of their new notes in the Comptroller's hands, and by ordering additional supplies at least sixty days before the exhaustion of previous orders. The cost of printing the new notes is defrayed by the United States.

National bank notes, unfit for circulation, may be forwarded by national banks to reimburse me for their notes redeemed, as well as in anticipation of calls, thus saving the express charges on the legal-tender notes, which would otherwise be returned. The packages should be marked "For credit of five per cent. fund."

United States currency and National bank notes, whether for redemption or credit, should always be forwarded in separate packages, properly marked with the amount and nature of the contents, and should be accompanied by separate letters of advice, by both mail and express. United States notes and national bank notes may be forwarded under the Government contract to reimburse me for notes redeemed in any amounts for which the calls may be made.

National bank notes for credit in anticipation of calls, as well as for redemption, must be sent in even thousands of dollars. The wrappers of the packages should state whether they contain United States notes or national bank notes, and whether the contents are "for redemption" or "for credit of five per cent. fund." Every remittance, of whatever nature, should be accompanied by a separate letter of advice.

The redemption agency debits national banks with the full amount of their notes unfit for circulation delivered to the Comptroller, whether the full amount is reissued by him or not. Banks may avoid confusion between their five per cent. and circulation accounts by crediting the redemption agent, and charging the comptroller with the amount so delivered, and by crediting the Comptroller on the receipt of new notes. Only notes clearly unfit for circulation are delivered to the Comptroller for destruction.

The law requires notes fit for circulation redeemed by this agency to be returned to the respective associations by which they were issued, and no other disposition can be made of them. It would not be to the advantage of banks for this agency to send such notes to their correspondents in the large cities, as they would speedily be returned to the agency for redemption.

F. E. SPINNER.

Treasurer U. S. and Redemption Agent.

#### DESTRUCTION OF ILLICIT DISTILLERIES.

A special force of twenty-five mounted men, with several deputy marshals and collectors and a United States Commissioner, under command of Major Jacob Wagner, from Arlington, Virginia, made an extensive raid on illicit distillers in the mountains on the Tennessee and West Virginia border last week. The principal localities visited were Newman's Ridge and Blackwater Valley, lying just south of Powell's mountain, and 14 miles north of Rogersville, Tennessee. The inhabitants there, known by the local name of "Malunjins," are a mixture of whites, blacks and Indians, were "bush-whackers" for plunder during the war, and are now engaged in illicit distilling and other lawless pursuits. It was supposed they would fight, as on several former occasions revenue officers were driven off by them. The force was armed with Springfield breech-loaders, and made a clean sweep, completely destroying sixteen distilleries, with contents, large quantities of mash, beer, low

wines and whisky. Eight distillers, armed with carbines, muskets and rifles, were surprised at the distillery of a desperate character, named Mullins, and arrested before they could use their arms. Recent heavy rains rendered it necessary for the force to swim the large streams.

#### THE CONSCIENCE FUND.

A Baltimorean, who had been moved and instigated by the devil for some time, having recently repented, sent a letter to the Secretary of the Treasury a day or two ago with thirty-four hundred dollars inclosed, which, he said, in his anonymous epistle, was due the Government on account of internal revenue tax on manufactured goods. What the character of the goods was the letter did not indicate; but, whether manufactured tobacco, whisky, or patent medicines, it is "all the same" at the Treasury Department. The funds were gathered in with a silent prayer that all other delinquents will go and do likewise.

#### COMMISSIONER OF INTERNAL REVENUE.

Hon. D. D. Pratt, ex-United States Senator from Indiana, has accepted the position of Commissioner of Internal Revenue, tendered him by President Grant, in place of J. W. Douglass removed.

#### UNITED STATES BOARD APPOINTED TO TEST IRON, STEEL, ETC.

This board consists of the following members: President, Lieutenant-Colonel T. T. S. Laidley, U. S. A.; Commander L. A. Beardslee, U. S. N.; Lieutenant-Colonel Q. A. Gilmore, U. S. A.; Chief Engineer David Smith, U. S. N.; W. Sooy Smith, C. E.; R. H. Thurston, C. E., secretary. This board is appointed by the President of the United States, in accordance with the provisions of section 4 of "An Act making appropriations for sundry civil expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1876, and for other purposes," approved March 3, 1875. It is instructed to determine by actual tests the strength and value of all kinds of iron, steel and other metals which may be submitted to it, or by it procured, and to prepare tables which will exhibit the strength and value of said materials for constructive purposes. Its organization has been perfected by the appointment of the following

#### STANDING COMMITTEES OF THE BOARD:

On Abrasion and Wear—R. H. Thurston, C. E., Chairman; A. L. Holly, C. E., Chief

Engineer D. Smith, U. S. N. Instructions: To examine and report upon the abrasion and wear of railway wheels, axles, rails and other materials, under the conditions of actual use.

On Armor Plate—Lieutenant-Colonel Q. A. Gilmore, U. S. A., chairman; A. L. Holly, C. E., R. H. Thurston, C. E. Instructions: To make tests of armor plate, and to collect data derived from experiments already made to determine the characteristics of metal suitable for such use.

On Chemical Research—A. L. Holly, C. E., chairman; R. H. Thurston, C. E. Instructions: To plan and conduct investigations of the mutual relations of the chemical and mechanical properties of metals.

On Chains and Wire Ropes—Commander L. A. Beardslee, U. S. N., chairman; Lieutenant-Col. Q. A. Gilmore, U. S. A., Chief Engineer D. Smith, U. S. N. Instructions: To determine the character of iron best adapted for chain cables, the best form and proportions of link, and the qualities of metal used in the manufacture of iron and steel wire rope.

On Corrosion of Metals—W. Sooy Smith, C. E., chairman; Lieutenant-Colonel Q. A. Gilmore, U. S. A., Commander L. A. Beardslee, U. S. N. Instructions: To investigate the subject of the corrosion of metals under the conditions of actual use.

On the Effects of Temperature—R. H. Thurston, C. E., chairman; Lieutenant-Colonel Q. A. Gilmore, U. S. A., Commander L. A. Beardslee, U. S. N. Instructions: To investigate the effects of variations of temperature upon the strength and other qualities of iron, steel, and other metals.

On Girders and Columns—W. Sooy Smith, C. E., chairman; Lt.-Col. Q. A. Gilmore, U. S. A., Chief Engineer D. Smith, U. S. N. Instructions: To arrange and conduct experiments to determine the laws of resistance of beams, girders and columns to change of form and to fracture.

On Iron, Malleable—Commander L. A. Beardslee, U. S. A., chairman; W. Sooy Smith, C. E., A. L. Holly, C. E. Instructions: To examine and report upon the mechanical and physical proportions of wrought iron.

On Iron, Cast—Lt.-Col. Q. A. Gilmore, U. S. A., chairman; R. H. Thurston, C. E., Chief Engineer D. Smith, U. S. N. Instructions: To consider and report upon the mechanical and physical properties of cast iron.

On Metallic Alloys—R. H. Thurston, C. E., chairman; Commander L. A. Beardslee, U. S. N., Chief Engineer D. Smith, U. S. N. Instructions: To assume charge of a series of experiments on the characteristics of alloys, and an investigation of the laws of combina-

On Orthogonal Simultaneous Strains—W. Sooy Smith, C. E., chairman; Commander L. A. Beardslee, U. S. N.; R. H. Thurston, C. E. Instructions: To plan and conduct a series of experiments on simultaneous orthogonal strains, with a view to the determination of laws.

On Physical Phenomena—W. Sooy Smith, C. E., chairman; A. L. Holly, C. E., R. H. Thurston, C. E. Instructions: To make a special investigation of the physical phenomena accompanying the distortion and rupture of materials.

On Reheating and Re-rolling—Commander L. A. Beardslee, U. S. N., chairman; Chief Engineer D. Smith, U. S. N., W. Sooy Smith, C. E. Instructions: To observe and experiment upon the effect of reheating, re-rolling, or otherwise reworking; of hammering, as compared with rolling, and of annealing the metals.

On Steels Produced by Modern Processes—A. L. Holly, C. E., chairman; Chief Engineer D. Smith, U. S. N.; W. Sooy Smith, C. E. Instructions: To investigate the constitution and characteristics of steels made by the Bessemer, open hearth and other modern methods.

On Steels for Tools—Chief Engineer D. Smith, U. S. N., chairman; Commander L. A. Beardslee, U. S. N., W. Sooy Smith, C. E. Instructions: To determine the constitution and characteristics, and the special adaptations of steels used for tools.

The above-named committees of this board are appointed to conduct the several investigations, and the special researches assigned them in the interval during which the regular work of the board is delayed by the preparation of the necessary testing machinery, and during such periods of leisure as may afterwards occur. These investigations are expected to be made with critical and scientific accuracy, and will therefore consist in the minute analysis of a somewhat limited number of specimens and the precise determination of mechanical and physical properties, with a view to the detection and enunciation of the laws connecting them with the phenomena of resistance to flexure, distortion and rupture. The board will be prepared to enter upon a more general investigation, testing such specimens as may be forwarded to the president of the board, or such as it may be determined to purchase in open market, immediately upon the completion of the apparatus ordered, at which time circulars will be published giving detailed instructions relative to the preparation of specimens for test, and stating minutely the information which will be demanded previous to their acceptance.

R. H. THURSTON,  
*Secretary of the Board.*

## WAR DEPARTMENT.

## WESTERN EXPLORATIONS BY LIEUT. WHEELER.

The parties for geographical explorations and surveys west of the 100th meridian, under the Engineer Bureau of the War Department, and in immediate charge of Lieut. George W. Wheeler, United States Engineer, will again take the field during the month, the main points of departure being Pueblo, Colorado, and Los Angeles, California.

The California division will be under the immediate command of Lieut. Wheeler, and will be composed of three main field parties, directed respectively by Lieuts. Wheeler and Bergland, United States Engineers; C. W. Whipple, Third artillery, and Roger Birnie, Thirteenth United States infantry. The field of operation will embrace portions of Southern and Eastern California, including portions of the Coast Range and the Sierra Nevada, extending eastward as far as Death Valley, continuing and connecting with work of former years.

The Colorado division will be under the general control of Lieut. W. L. Marshall, Corps of Engineers, who has had three years' previous experience, and will be subdivided into three working field parties, commanded respectively by Lieuts. W. L. Marshall, C. C. Morrison, Sixth United States cavalry, and W. L. Carpenter, Ninth United States infantry. The field operations will be in Central New Mexico and Southern and Southwestern Colorado, connecting with and continuing the work of previous years.

All the parties of the expedition will be subdivided into still smaller parties whenever the necessity of the service may require.

In addition to the specific work of the expedition, special examinations and surveys will be made with a view to determining as to the practicability of diverting the water of the Colorado of the West for irrigation and other purposes. A small party will also act in connection with a similar one sent out under the auspices of the Smithsonian Institution for making archaeological investigations and collections in the Santa Catalina Islands, where it is believed ruins and relics of great interest exist.

Although the appropriation made for the work is comparatively small, because of the simplicity of the organization and improvement in methods and in instruments, it is believed that the operations and valuable results will equal those of former years.

All the officers, with one exception, have been experienced in the work, as also most of the civilian assistants, who have been carefully selected. Such experience, together with a most complete outfit of instruments, give promise of the best results. The office duties, including the preparation of finished maps and reports, still goes forward as usual.

## NAVY DEPARTMENT.

## WORKS OF ART FOR THE CENTENNIAL.

The Navy Department authorizes the statement that it has undertaken to bring to this country in ships returning home from the Mediterranean squadron, and deliver at Philadelphia all such works of art as American artists abroad desire to send to the Centennial Exhibition of 1876. Ships carrying these contributions will probably leave Europe some time next winter, and will touch at the ports most convenient for the carrying out of this patriotic purpose.

## INTERIOR DEPARTMENT.

## INDIAN DELEGATION.

Maj. H. W. Bingham, Indian agent at Cheyenne, arrived here Saturday night, accompanied by nine Sioux Indians and William Fielder, as interpreter. The following are the names of the Indians comprising the delegation: "Lone Horn," head chief of the Minneconjongs; "Fall Man Dan," head chief of the Two Kettle Band; Swan, Bull Eagle, Spotted Elk, The Duck, Red Shirt, Rattling Rib, and Charger. They have been fifteen days on the route to this city.

Red Cloud and Spotted Tail, with their chiefs, have also arrived in the city. The delegations come for the purpose of negotiating with the Government for the sale of the Black Hills.

## AN IMPARTIAL INDIAN INTERPRETER.

The Interior Department has secured the services of a clergyman who speaks nearly all the Indian dialects, and who is not con-



nected with the Indian service, to act as interpreter during the visit of Red Cloud and the other Sioux chiefs here. This has been done by Secretary Delano in order that he may be certain that Red Cloud's statement is properly and correctly reported.

### GENERAL POST OFFICE.

#### POSTAL CIRCULAR.

The following circular order has been issued to postmasters:

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT,  
WASHINGTON, May 8, 1875.

The treaty concerning the formation of a general postal union, concluded at Berne, October 9, 1874, between the United States of America, Austria, Hungary, Belgium, Denmark, Egypt, Spain, France, Great Britain, Greece, Italy, Luxembourg, Norway, the Netherlands, Portugal, Roumania, Russia, Servia, Sweden, Switzerland, and Turkey, having been duly ratified by the United States on the 5th day of March, 1875, and the ratification thereof by the several contracting States having been duly exchanged at Berne, Switzerland, on the 3d day of May, 1875, it is hereby ordered that the uniform union rates of postage to be levied and collected in the United States on correspondence to and from the whole extent of the postal union, embracing the above-named countries, without distinction, shall be as follows:

(a) For prepaid letters, 5 cents per 15 grammes.

(b) For unpaid letters, 10 cents per 15 grammes.

(c) For postal cards, 2 cents each.

(d) For newspapers, if not over four ounces in weight, 2 cents each.

(e) For other printed matter, samples of merchandise, and all articles other than newspapers enumerated in article four of the treaty, 2 cents per each weight of 2 ounces or fraction thereof.

(f) For the registration fee on all correspondence, 8 cents.

(g) No fee will be charged for a return receipt in cases where a receipt from the addressee is requested.

(h) No additional tax will be collected in the United States on the correspondence forwarded within the union, by sea, on routes of more than 300 nautical miles in length.

(i) As regards the amounts to be paid for the territorial transit according to article ten of the treaty, the United States claims for herself, whenever the right of transit guaranteed by that article is exercised, (even as regards her transit lines of 750 kilometres, and excepting only her great overland railway lines between the Atlantic and Pacific

oceans, especially received as continuing to form the object of special arrangements with the post offices interested,) the minimum rate of 2 francs per kilogramme of letters and 25 centimes per kilogramme of printed matter, &c., and is ready, by increasing the transit rates as permitted, to 4 francs and 50 centimes, respectively, to meet the wishes of those departments of the union which make the same declaration in regard to the United States transit correspondence.

(k) The freedom of transit of correspondence in closed mails, reciprocally granted in the existing postal convention between the United States and Switzerland will be maintained.

(l) The union rates of postage hereinbefore prescribed will be levied and collected on and after July 1, 1875, on the correspondence to and from all the contracting States except France; and on and after January 1, 1875, on the correspondence to and from France.

MARSHALL JEWELL,  
Postmaster General.

#### NEWSPAPERS AND THE MAILS.

The Postmaster General has issued an order modifying the postal regulations by striking out that part providing that no subscription to newspapers for less than three months shall be considered a regular subscription within the meaning of the law. The effect of this order is to allow newspaper offices to send papers to subscribers at regular rates, whether for one week or three months. Heretofore subscribers for less than three months have had to pay transient rates.

### U. S. SUPREME COURT.

THE MARYLAND PASSENGER TAX—JUDGMENT OF STATE COURT OF APPEALS AGAINST THE BALTIMORE AND OHIO RAILROAD COMPANY FOR \$500,000 — AFFIRMED BY THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT.

The Supreme Court, prior to adjournment, on May 3d, rendered, among others, the following decision:

No. 29.—The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company vs. The State of Maryland. This was an action by the State to recover the one-fifth part of the whole amount of the moneys received by the railroad company for the transportation of passengers over the Washington Branch of the road from 1860 to 1870.

The claim of the State was based on the charter under which the Washington Branch was constructed, one condition of which was that the company should pay this proportion

of the passenger earnings of the road into the treasury of the State. The charter, with this condition, was accepted by the company, and the payment made as required for many years, but finally the constitutionality of the stipulation was disputed, and further payment was refused. Upon these facts this court hold that a stipulation in the charter of a railroad company that the company shall pay to the State a bonus, or a portion of its earnings, is not repugnant to the Constitution of the United States. Such a stipulation is different in principle from the imposition of a tax in the movement of transportation of goods or persons from one State to another. The latter is an interference with, and a regulation of, commerce between the States and beyond the power of the State to impose; the former is not. The power of a State to construct railroads and other highways, and to impose tolls, fare, or freight for transportation thereon, is unlimited and uncontrolled. The disposition of the revenues thus derived is subject to its own discretion; but a State cannot impose a tax on the movement of persons or property from one State to another. The cases of *Crandall vs. Nevada*, (16 Wall, 42,) and the *Freight Tax cases*, (16 Wall, 232,) are recited and reaffirmed. Relief from burdensome and onerous rates of transportation, imposed under State authority, must be sought in the competition of different lines, and perhaps in the power of Congress to establish post roads and to facilitate military and commercial intercommunication between different parts of the country. The charter of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company for constructing and operating the branch railroad between Baltimore and Washington contained a stipulation that the company at the end of every six months should pay to the State one-fifth of the whole amount received for the transportation of passengers. This condition was within the power of the State to impose, and it was accepted by the company. It was a contract to pay, and not a receipt of money belonging to the State, and if it were unconstitutional the objection could be set up as a defense to an action brought by the State to recover the money. The alleged unconstitutionality of the stipulation being set up as a defense, the State court was bound to pass upon it, and, having decided against the exemption claimed, this court is authorized to review the decision. Affirmed. Mr. Justice Bradley delivered the opinion. Mr. Justice Miller dissented, holding that the statute of Maryland, making this requirement of the road in respect to passengers over the Washington Branch, confined as it was exclusively to this part of the road, was intended to raise a revenue for the State from all persons com-

ing to Washington by rail, and had that effect for twenty-five years, and that the statute is therefore void within the principle laid down in *Crandall vs. Nevada*.

This case is cited also by the court, as will be seen above, in support of the majority opinion.

The Hon. James B. Beck hopes to be the next United States Senator from Kentucky. He told a reporter of the Cincinnati *Enquirer* recently that he made no disguise of the fact that he was a candidate, and that he should do all in his power to secure his election. With regard to the Presidency, he thought that Gov. Allen's success in another Ohio election would certainly make him the Presidential nominee of the Democracy. "Tilden," he said, "is out of the question, and no Eastern bondholding candidate will stand any show whatever."

ARCTIC EXPEDITIONS.—The English arctic expedition will be greatly assisted by the scientific results of the *Polaris* voyage up Smith Sound. These will be published at Washington in three quarto volumes, and include pendulum, meteorological, magnetic, and tidal observations. Dr. Bessels will furnish Commander Markham with the proof sheets in the event of a delay in the publication, and has requested him to endeavor to recover a pendulum left in a depot at *Polaris* Point, in Smith Sound. A Swedish Polar expedition, fitted up at the expense of a merchant, Herr Oskar Dickson, will leave Tromsø in June, under Professor Nordenskjöld. A large scientific corps will accompany it, and it is proposed to make a careful survey of Nova Zembla. At the northernmost point of Nova Zembla the expedition will divide, part sailing northeast to survey a wholly unknown portion of the Polar Basin, and the remainder sailing southwards to the mouth of the Ob and Senesj. Professor Nordenskjöld hopes to be able to go up one of these rivers in a boat, and return overland. The results of the Austro-Hungarian expedition, which have lately been published, will be of immense service to the Swedish party.

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## THE THIRD TERM.\*

It is not easy to treat any subject of controversy without seeming to side one way or the other. If it involves party politics, one can hardly hope to escape the imputation, whatever may be said or whatever care observed. This is the reason why even an unbiased and thoughtful review of political subjects is so seldom ventured in the literary and popular magazines of the day. It is to be regretted that the public is thus deprived of much light that might often be thrown upon matters of vital interest.

In venturing upon the Third Term question, attention is asked to the evident propriety of presenting it in the abstract, before the popular mind has taken any decided bias. The delicacy of even alluding to the subject, in a magazine friendly to the present administration, is increased by the fact that the opposition are charging the President with a purpose to press his nomination to a Third Term upon the convention of his party in 1876. It is no matter that not the least intimation of such design has emanated from any source friendly to the administration. Whatever currency has been given to it has come only from the taunts and charges of the more violent opposition. That no formal denial has been obtruded is counted for proof of the charge; and so the matter at present stands.

There is the best authority for saying, that the President has hardly given the subject a serious thought, and that he has based all his actions and arrangements for the future, upon the assumption, as a matter of course, that his official duties are to cease on the 4th of March, 1877. The only point that he has, probably, seriously considered, even for a moment, has been whether he should be swift to deny authoritatively the groundless accusations of his enemies, by proclaiming to the people his refusal to serve them another term, before they have intimated a wish that he may do so. It is to be hoped that he will continue to refuse to be provoked into any such undignified and unbecoming recognition of the idle gabble of newspaper sensationals.

Enough, however, of public interest and attention has been aroused to make it neither ill-timed nor entirely gratuitous, to consider the subject in its practical, present aspect, as well as in its relations to history and to the fundamental principles of American institutions.

The chief Executive office of nations, from the first establishment of human government,

has been the prolific source of dissensions and wars. The contests of aspirants to crowns and sceptres have marked the earth with ruins and filled history with records of bloodshed, the tramp of armies and the building up and downfall of empires. The doctrine of divine right soon became a human necessity for the peace of the world. Those nations, which have invested the hereditary monarch with the greatest sanctity and impressed upon their subjects the greatest reverence for his person and official dignity, have been longest lived and most exempt from civil discord. Whenever the system of electing the Chief Magistrate has been tried, it has led to civil commotions and continued strife.

The framers of the American Constitution duly appreciated the importance of establishing the chief executive office upon most precautionary and well considered principles. That it should be elective, and for a term less than life, was so clearly demanded by popular sentiment as to be a necessity of the circumstances and times. There was really but one open question of serious moment, viz: whether the same person should be confined to a single term, or be re-eligible to an indefinite number of successive terms.

We cannot study the history of the times without being struck with the thorough learning of the statesmen of the period, in the fundamental principles of government, and with the wise and just discrimination shown by them on all subjects connected with the guarantees of popular liberty. It is evident they had read history in the light of its most practical and philosophical bearings. It is, indeed, surprising that they could have become so profoundly versed in political philosophy, in a country sparsely settled, without extensive libraries, and with no circles of legislators and statesmen, in which, by frequent comparison of opinion, there might be mutual assistance to sound conclusions. Their clear perception of the sequence and bearing of leading principles upon current events and prospective conditions, seems almost intuitive. While impressed with their jealousy of all restraints upon popular rights, we must admire their singular moderation and forecast in clinging to conservative doctrines and refusing to yield to more ultra and visionary democratic proclivities. Nothing of the wild and inherently destructive notions, which have characterized revolutionists in other ages and countries, found favor with them. In this respect they stand in striking light among the revolutionists of history. The success of the government they founded at-

\* This article was in type prior to the publication of the President's letter on the Third Term question.

tests their superior wisdom and foresight no more strongly, than time and experience have attested the soundness of their judgment in arranging and balancing its constituent features. Poets and philosophers have sometimes risen to such elevation of intellectual achievement, as to seem inspired with superhuman light, or made the direct instruments of Providence for the advancement of the human race. If statesmen, too, have sometimes seemed guided by such inspiration, the framers of the American Constitution occupy among them an eminent place. In no particular is this more strongly suggested than in their dealing with the dangerous and delicate subject of the Chief Magistracy. By the shortness of the term fixed upon, they lessened the danger of revolutionary attempts—postponing defeated aspirants for only four years—too short a time to weary with hope deferred, and not more than long enough to prepare for a legitimate renewal of the contest.

But, the question of re-eligibility to successive terms was the subject of most protracted and exhaustive deliberation. The people might choose to keep a popular incumbent in office from term to term, and other aspirants be thus indefinitely postponed. The incumbent might use the power and patronage of his station to influence popular sentiment in favor of successive re-elections. But the doctrine of ineligibility was, really, nothing less than a proposed restriction upon a free choice by the people. The abuse of the office by plotting for a re-election, was more likely to alinate than to gain popular favor. There was little danger of a re-election, except when the incumbent had so won and retained the confidence of the people as to make him their choice. The proposed restriction upon free choice was, therefore, only to prevent the people from rewarding singular merit. It would be, in effect, making singular merit and popular confidence the very ground for excluding from office. It would take away the most natural incentive to good conduct and deference to the will and interests of the people; and this, for no better reason than to clear the way for other aspirants possessing less of public confidence and esteem. In place of reserving to the people the right to change, it would be forcing them to change their Chief Magistrate every four years. It is not too much to say, that this was a contest for popular rights on the one hand, confronted by apprehended danger, that, in the course of time, the too frequently disappointed ambition of other aspirants might lead to disorders and attempts at revolution.

This question of re-eligibility elicited much conflict of opinion. Several prominent statesmen of the period submitted, in writing,

their views, suggesting what was called plans of government. Mr. Hamilton's plan made the Presidential term during good behavior. Mr. Edmund Randolph's limited the term to a number of years, and made the incumbent ineligible afterwards. Mr. Pinckney's limited the term to a number of years and made the incumbent re-eligible to any number of successive terms. The question was voted upon in the Convention time and again in different connections, and was decided first one way and then the other. It was then referred to a Committee, which reported that the President should be elected by the Legislature for a term of years, and should be ineligible to a second term. After much discussion on this report, it was on motion of Mr. Sherman again referred to a Committee, composed, this time, of one representative from each State. This Committee reported that the President should be elected by chosen electors, for a term of four years, and should be re-eligible. After further full and exhaustive deliberation these features of the report were approved by the Convention and embodied in the Constitution. It thus appears that the constitutional provision, making the President re-eligible for any number of successive terms, was far from being inconsiderate. No part of the instrument was more deliberately and earnestly discussed and profoundly weighed.

Judge Story, in his great work on the Constitution, offers some wise suggestions against restricting eligibility to the Presidential office to any definite number of terms. He says: "It might banish men from the station, in certain emergencies, in which their services might be eminently useful, and, indeed, almost indispensable to the safety of their country. There is no nation which has not, at some period in its history, felt an absolute necessity of the services of particular men in particular stations; and, perhaps, it is not too much to say, as vital to the preservation of its political existence. In a time of war, or other pressing calamity, the very confidence of a nation in the tried integrity and ability of a single man, may, of itself insure a triumph. Is it wise to substitute in such cases, inexperience for experience? One would suppose that it would be sufficient to possess the right to change a bad magistrate, without making the singular merit of a good one the very ground for excluding him from office."

General Washington was first chosen to the Chief Magistracy not more on account of his great character and services, than for the moral force of having in the Executive Office the military head of the Revolution, which had just ended. In times following great military operations, especially revolutions and civil wars, there always remain classes

disposed to turbulence; and the popular mind, generally, has come to require something of military prestige to inspire obedience and respect. It cannot be denied, that, in such times, the restoration of law and order is more likely to be secured by having, for a while, at least, a renowned military leader at the head of affairs. Prevalent dissatisfaction among those who had served in the army, and the general disorder incident to the close of the war of Independence, rendered the selection of Washington eminently wise, if not, indeed, a public necessity. The same kind of feeling was general among the people in 1868, and led to the selection of General Grant. In fact, the situation of affairs in 1868 called more strongly than in 1789, for the moral force of military prestige in the Executive Chair.

Washington's first term of four years expired without that complete return to established order and quiet which would have made his re-election unnecessary. He personally wished to retire; but, yielding to the wishes of the people and the evident requirements of public safety, he accepted an election to a second term. At its expiration, public peace and confidence were completely established, and the general repose of the country justified him in gratifying his earnest desire to be relieved from the burthens and responsibilities of office. Had any serious general disorder been still threatened, no one will doubt either that the voice of the people would have demanded his continuance in office, or that his patriotism and sense of duty would have constrained him to yield to the popular wish. But there may have been considerations, other than personal inclination, inducing him to retire, which it may not be easy to appreciate after the demonstrative experience of so many years. It is not unlikely that he himself, and others were desirous of testing the new form of government which they had so recently framed, and of bringing the most delicate part of their theory to the trial of actual practice, by allowing a change in the Executive office to take place as provided in the Constitution. Besides, we may not wholly lose sight of the fact, that other prominent leaders of the Revolution were growing in years, and becoming somewhat restive for the honors of the chief office in the Republic. The most prominent of these were civilians. The election of Mr. Adams tested not only the experiment of changing rulers by popular vote, but also that of stripping the office of military prestige, and intrusting the Executive power to a civilian.

Thus it appears, there were special reasons for the retirement of Washington at the end of his second term, and no overriding considerations to the contrary connected with the preservation of public peace and security.

There is nothing in the circumstances, nor anything in the history of the times, intimating that he or others meant to offer a precedent for other times and other circumstances. Such purpose would have been, in effect, to reverse the deliberate judgment of the Convention which framed the Constitution—to initiate a custom by his personal example that might be substituted for established law.

It was reserved for other times to attempt thus to re-judge the great question of free choice, which had already been settled in favor of popular right. To invoke the force of English ideas to abridge or trammel, by ultra-constitutional means, the freedom of the people in the selection of their rulers, was not in keeping with the manly spirit of liberty which had grown up on American soil. But it is true, nevertheless, that upon many subjects English ideas still had much sway in the early days of the Republic. The English are noted among nations for their reverence for precedents. They are inclined to follow the example of ancestors, notably in family affairs, in business pursuits, and even down to the minor arrangements of the household. This national characteristic may be eminently conservative, but it stands in the way of general progress, and contravenes individual independence of thought and action. The American people have steadily advanced more and more away from obsolete customs and prejudices founded on the habits and practices of their English ancestors. American ideas have become steadily stronger, until popular action now seeks for guidance more in the current circumstances and requirements of the present, than in the examples of former times. A frequent recurrence to fundamental principles is about the only check now recognized.

Mr. Adams was Vice President when he was elected to succeed Washington. His selection was a sort of recognition of succession from the second to the first office. He was not re-elected for reasons connected with his official policy. Mr. Jefferson, the Vice President, succeeded him. The people chose the Secretary of State, Mr. Madison, to succeed Mr. Jefferson—breaking the precedent of Vice Presidential succession against Aaron Burr and Mr. Clinton. But, for forty consecutive years from the first election, either the Vice President or the Secretary of State, standing in the relation of Prime Minister, was selected to succeed each retiring President. The election of General Jackson, in 1829, broke, for the first time, this precedent of succession. But it was renewed by the selection of his Secretary of State and Vice President, Mr. Van Buren, to succeed him. Then came the great uprising and political revolution of 1840, which effectually broke

up the effort to establish, in the interest of politicians, a precedent of succession, by which the free choice of the people was made subject to an ultra-constitutional restriction. General Harrison was then elected to the Presidency; and no Vice President or Secretary of State has since been selected to succeed the Administration under which he held office.

The first term of Mr. Lincoln commenced with the rebellion. His re-election, in 1864, was a necessity of the times. In 1868, the condition of affairs in the South, and the temper and attitude of Southern leaders, were such, that, had he been then living, it is not improbable he would have been elected to a third term, supported by General Grant and the other leaders of the Union armies. Such an event would have settled the issues of the war for all the future, and given peace, security, and confidence to the country for half a century.

The threatening questions growing out of the immediate emancipation of four millions of slaves and their elevation to full equality of citizenship, are not to be settled in a day. No nation, in any age, ever had a more dangerous and difficult problem to solve. It still hangs, a threatening cloud in the political horizon. However much we may be disposed to regard the succession to the next administration a matter of no more than ordinary concern, there is, unmistakably, a deep-seated apprehension in the public mind, which another year may greatly increase. It is becoming more and more evident that, within the next four years, the Federal Government will be forced to the alternative of either receding from the reconstruction policy embodied in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, or of enforcing it against some of the States by a direct exercise of coercive power. The anti-reconstructionists, and the party allies of the leaders of the rebellion, have been suspiciously swift to raise, thus far in advance, a clamor against the election of the present Executive to another term. It has been with method and purpose. His character, military prestige and hold upon the public confidence are well understood by them to be a serious obstacle to any backward or revolutionary movement on their part. The fact that their conduct and suspected designs may impress the people with the necessity of continuing him in office for another term, has had, and is still having a restraining influence which they feel. No act or word of his has given just ground to suppose that he desires, or would even consent to a third term. But could they provoke him to a formal declaration that he will not accept a re-election, under any circumstances, they would feel a great restraint removed, and their adherents would be em-

boldened to much more resolute and decided conduct. Their gratuitous charges against him of planning and plotting for a re-election have been for the purpose of drawing from him a refusal to accept it; or, failing in that, to alienate from him the present confidence of the people, and so prejudice the public mind against a third term as to prevent such a calamity to themselves. The most that can be said in support of their charges is, that up to this time he has not condescended to deny them; nor has he authorized anyone to give the assurance that his name and the moral force of his antecedents shall, at the expiration of his present term, cease to be an obstacle to their designs. For this the country thanks him, and feels more secure in the firmness with which he maintains the dignity of his office, and leaves events uninfluenced by any premature expressions of his purposes.

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THE FORMATION OF VALLEYS.—Mr. Kinahan has made a valuable contribution to the sciences of geology and physical geography by a work entitled, "Valleys, and their relations to Fissures, Fractures, and Faults." There can be no doubt that since the time of Hutton an undue importance has been attached to meteoric abrasion, in accounting for the surface irregularities of the earth's surface, and Mr. Kinahan has done a good work in calling attention to several other causes which have borne an important part in bringing about the present state of things. A careful study of the valley system of Ireland has led Mr. Kinahan to the conclusion that breaks in the rocks and subsequent shrinkage, under solar and aqueous influence, are the real causes of the conformations under consideration, their occurrence in regular systems pointing unmistakably to a more general and deeply seated force than the variable action of seas, rivers, rains, and chemical disintegration. His theory presents a very plausible explanation of the observed phenomena, giving due credit to the agencies hitherto supposed to be primary, but placing them in subordination to those which are more general and effective in their action.

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An Indianapolis correspondent says that Senator Morton is of the opinion that the municipal elections in Indianapolis and throughout the State settle the question as to how Indiana will go in 1876. He feels confident that Liberals and other Republicans who have not acted with their party for several years in that State will take their old places in the ranks of the party of progress, and aid in securing a complete Republican victory.



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# APPENDIX.

## MESSAGE

OF THE

## PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

COMMUNICATING,

*In compliance with a resolution of the Senate of the 8th instant, information in relation to an alleged interference in the organization of the General Assembly of the State of Louisiana.*

*To the Senate of the United States :*

I have the honor to make the following answer to a Senate resolution of the 8th instant, asking for information as to any interference, by any military officer or any part of the Army of the United States, with the organization or proceedings of the general assembly of the State of Louisiana, or either branch thereof; and also inquiring in regard to the existence of armed organizations in that State, hostile to the government thereof, and intent on overturning such government by force.

To say that lawlessness, turbulence, and bloodshed have characterized the political affairs of that State since its re-organization under the reconstruction acts, is only to repeat what has become well known as a part of its unhappy history; but it may be proper here to refer to the election of 1868, by which the republican vote of the State, through fraud and violence, was reduced to a few thousands, and the bloody riots of 1866 and 1868, to show that the disorders there are not due to any recent causes or to any late action of the Federal authorities.

Preparatory to the election of 1872, a shameful and undisguised conspiracy was formed to carry that election against the republicans without regard to law or right, and to that end the most glaring frauds and forgeries were committed in the returns after many colored citizens had been denied registration, and others deterred by fear from casting their ballots.

When the time came for a final canvass of the votes, in view of the foregoing facts, William P. Kellogg, the republican candidate for governor, brought suit upon the equity side of the United States circuit court for Louisiana, and against Warmoth and others, who had obtained possession of the returns of the election, representing that several thousand voters of the State had been deprived of the elective franchise on account of their color, and praying that steps might be taken to have said votes counted, and for general relief. To enable the court to inquire as to the truth of these allegations, a temporary restraining order was issued against the defendants, which was at once wholly disregarded and treated with contempt by those to whom it was directed. These pro-

ceedings have been widely denounced as an unwarrantable interference by the Federal judiciary with the election of State officers; but it is to be remembered that by the fifteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States the political equality of colored citizens is secured, and under the second section of that amendment, providing that Congress shall have power to enforce its provisions by appropriate legislation, an act was passed on the 31st of May, 1870, and amended in 1871, the object of which was to prevent the denial or abridgment of suffrage to citizens, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude; and it has been held by all the Federal judges before whom the question has arisen, including Justice Strong, of the Supreme Court, that the protection afforded by this amendment and these acts extends to State as well as other elections. That it is the duty of the Federal courts to enforce the provisions of the Constitution of the United States and the laws passed in pursuance thereof is too clear for controversy.

Section 15 of said act, after numerous provisions therein to prevent an evasion of the fifteenth amendment, provides that the jurisdiction of the circuit court of the United States shall extend to all cases in law or equity arising under the provisions of said act and of the act amendatory thereof. Congress seems to have contemplated equitable as well as legal proceedings to prevent the denial of suffrage to colored citizens; and it may be safely asserted that if Kellogg's bill in the above-named case did not present a case for the equitable interposition of the court, that no such case can arise under the act. That the courts of the United States have the right to interfere in various ways with State elections so as to maintain political equality and rights therein, irrespective of race or color, is comparatively a new, and to some seems to be a startling idea, but it results as clearly from the fifteenth amendment to the Constitution and the acts that have been passed to enforce that amendment, as the abrogation of State laws upholding slavery results from the thirteenth amendment to the Constitution. While the jurisdiction of the court in the case of Kellogg *vs.* Warmoth and others is clear to my mind, it seems that some of the orders made by the judge in that and the kindred case of Antoine were illegal. But while they are so held and considered, it is not to be forgotten that the mandates of his court had been contemptuously defied, and they were made while wild scenes of anarchy were sweeping away all restraint of law and order. Doubtless the judge of this court made grave mistakes; but the law allows the chancellor great latitude not only in punishing those who contemn his orders and injunctions, but in preventing the consummation of the wrong which he has judicially forbidden. Whatever may be said or thought of those matters, it was only made known to me that process of the United States court was resisted; and as said act especially provides for the use of the Army and Navy, when necessary, to enforce judicial process arising thereunder, I considered it my duty to see that such process was executed according to the judgment of the court.

Resulting from these proceedings, through various controversies and complications, a State administration was organized with William P. Kellogg as governor, which, in the discharge of my duty under section 4, article 4, of the Constitution, I have recognized as the government of the State.

It has been bitterly and persistently alleged that Kellogg was not elected. Whether he was or not is not altogether certain, nor is it any more certain that his competitor, McEnery, was chosen. The election was a gigantic fraud, and there are no reliable returns of its result.

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Kellogg obtained possession of the office, and in my opinion has more right to it than his competitor.

On the 20th of February, 1873, the Committee on Privileges and Elections of the Senate, made a report in which they say they were satisfied by testimony that the manipulation of the election machinery by Warmoth and others was equivalent to twenty thousand votes; and they add that to recognize the McEnery government "would be recognizing a government based upon fraud, in defiance of the wishes and intention of the voters of the State." Assuming the correctness of the statements in this report, (and they seem to have been generally accepted by the country,) the great crime in Louisiana, about which so much has been said, is, that one is holding the office of governor who was cheated out of twenty thousand votes, against another whose title to the office is undoubtedly based on fraud and in defiance of the wishes and intentions of the voters of the State.

Misinformation and misjudging as to the nature and extent of this report, the supporters of McEnery proceeded to displace by force in some counties of the State the appointees of Governor Kellogg; and on the 13th of April, in an effort of that kind, a butchery of citizens was committed at Colfax, which in blood-thirstiness and barbarity is hardly surpassed by any acts of savage warfare.

To put this matter beyond controversy I quote from the charge of Judge Woods, of the United States circuit court, to the jury in the case of *The United States vs. Cruikshank and others*, in New Orleans, in March, 1874. He said:

"In the case on trial there are many facts not in controversy. I proceed to state some of them in the presence and hearing of counsel on both sides; and if I state as a conceded fact any matter that is disputed, they can correct me.

After stating the origin of the difficulty, which grew out of an attempt of white persons to drive the parish judge and sheriff, appointees of Kellogg, from office, and their attempted protection by colored persons, which led to some fighting, in which quite a number of negroes were killed, the judge states:

Most of those who were not killed were taken prisoners. Fifteen or sixteen of the blacks had lifted the boards and taken refuge under the floor of the court-house. They were all captured. About thirty-seven men were taken prisoners. The number is not definitely fixed. They were kept under guard until dark. They were led out, two by two, and shot. Most of the men were shot to death. A few were wounded, not mortally, and, by pretending to be dead, were afterward, during the night, able to make their escape. Among them was the Levi Nelson named in the indictment.

The dead bodies of the negroes killed in this affair were left unburied until Tuesday, April 15, when they were buried by a deputy marshal and an officer of the militia from New Orleans. These persons found fifty-nine dead bodies. They showed pistol-shot wounds, the great majority in the head, and most of them in the back of the head. In addition to the fifty-nine dead bodies found, some charred remains of dead bodies were discovered near the court-house. Six dead bodies were found under a warehouse, all shot in the head, but one or two which were shot in the breast.

The only white men injured from the beginning of these troubles to their close were Hadnot and Harris. The court-house and its contents were entirely consumed.

There is no evidence that any one in the crowd of whites bore any lawful warrant for the arrest of any of the blacks. There is no evidence that either Nash or Cazabat, after the affair, ever demanded their offices, to which they had set up claim, but Register continued to act as parish judge, and Shaw as sheriff.

These are facts in this case as I understand them to be admitted.

To hold the people of Louisiana generally responsible for these atrocities would not be just; but it is a lamentable fact that insuperable obstructions were thrown in the way of punishing these murderers, and the so-called conservative papers of the State not only justified the massacre, but denounced as federal tyranny and despotism the attempt

of the United States officers to bring them to justice. Fierce denunciations ring through the country about office-holding and election matters in Louisiana, while every one of the Colfax miscreants goes unwhipped of justice, and no way can be found in this boasted land of civilization and Christianity to punish the perpetrators of this bloody and monstrous crime.

Not unlike this was the massacre in August last. Several northern young men of capital and enterprise had started the little and flourishing town of Coushatta. Some of them were republicans and office-holders under Kellogg. They were therefore doomed to death. Six of them were seized and carried away from their homes and murdered in cold blood. No one has been punished; and the conservative press of the State dedounded all efforts to that end, and boldly justified the crime.

Many murders of a like character have been committed in individual cases which cannot here be detailed. For example, T. S. Crawford, judge, and P. H. Harris, district attorney of the twelfth judicial district of the State, on their way to court were shot from their horses by men in ambush, on the 8th of October, 1873, and the widow of the former, in a communication to the Department of Justice, tells a piteous tale of the persecutions of her husband because he was a Union man, and of the efforts made to screen those who had committed a crime, which, to use her own language, "left two widows and nine orphans desolate."

To say that the murder of a negro or a white republican is not considered a crime in Louisiana would probably be unjust to a great part of the people; but it is true that a great number of such murders have been committed, and no one has been punished therefor, and manifestly, as to them, the spirit of hatred and violence is stronger than law.

Representations were made to me that the presence of troops in Louisiana was unnecessary and irritating to the people, and that there was no danger of public disturbance if they were taken away. Consequently, early in last summer, the troops were all withdrawn from the State, with the exception of a small garrison at New Orleans Barracks. It was claimed that a comparative state of quiet had supervened. Political excitement as to Louisiana affairs seemed to be dying out. But the November election was approaching, and it was necessary for party purposes that the flame should be rekindled.

Accordingly, on the 14th of September, D. P. Penn, claiming that he was elected lieutenant-governor in 1872, issued an inflammatory proclamation calling upon the militia of the State to arm, assemble, and drive from power the usurpers, as he designated the officers of the State. The White Leagues, armed and ready for the conflict, promptly responded.

On the same day the governor made a formal requisition upon me, pursuant to the act of 1795, and section 4, article 4 of the Constitution, to aid in suppressing domestic violence. On the next day I issued my proclamation commanding the insurgents to disperse within five days from the date thereof; but, before the proclamation was published in New Orleans, the organized and armed forces recognizing a usurping governor had taken forcible possession of the State-house, and temporarily subverted the government. Twenty or more people were killed, including a number of the police of the city. The streets of the city were stained with blood. All that was desired in the way of excitement had been accomplished, and, in view of the steps taken to repress it, the revolution is apparently, though it is believed not really, abandoned, and the cry of Federal usurpation and tyranny in Louisiana was renewed



with redoubled energy. Troops had been sent to the State under this requisition of the governor, and as other disturbances seemed imminent they were allowed to remain there to render the executive such aid as might become necessary to enforce the laws of the State, and repress the continued violence which seemed inevitable the moment Federal support should be withdrawn.

Prior to, and with a view to the late election in Louisiana, white men associated themselves together in armed bodies called "White Leagues," and at the same time threats were made in the democratic journals of the State, that the election should be carried against the republicans at all hazards, which very naturally greatly alarmed the colored voters. By section 8 of the act of February 28, 1871, it is made the duty of United States marshals and their deputies, at polls where votes are cast for Representatives in Congress, to keep the peace and prevent any violations of the so-called enforcement acts, and other offenses against the laws of the United States; and upon a requisition of the marshal of Louisiana, and in view of said armed organizations and other portentous circumstances, I caused detachments of troops to be stationed in various localities in the State, to aid him in the performance of his official duties. That there was intimidation of republican voters at the election, notwithstanding these precautions, admits of no doubt. The following are specimens of the means used:

On the 14th of October eighty persons signed and published the following at Shreveport:

We, the undersigned, merchants of the city of Shreveport, in obedience to a request of the Shreveport Campaign Club, agree to use every endeavor to get our employes to vote the people's ticket at the ensuing election; and, in the event of their refusal so to do, or in case they vote the radical ticket, to refuse to employ them at the expiration of their present contracts.

On the same day another large body of persons published in the same place a paper, in which they used the following language:

We, the undersigned, merchants of the city of Shreveport, alive to the great importance of securing good and honest government to the State, do agree and pledge ourselves not to advance any supplies or money to any planter the coming year who will give employment or rent lands to laborers who vote the radical ticket in the coming election.

I have no information of the proceedings of the returning-board for said election which may not be found in its report, which has been published, but it is a matter of public information that a great part of the time taken to canvass the votes was consumed by the arguments of lawyers, several of whom represented each party before the board. I have no evidence that the proceedings of this board were not in accordance with the law under which they acted. Whether, in excluding from their count certain returns, they were right or wrong, is a question that depends upon the evidence they had before them; but it is very clear that the law gives them the power, if they choose to exercise it, of deciding that way; and *prima-facie* the persons whom they return as elected are entitled to the offices for which they were candidates.

Respecting the alleged interference by the military with the organization of the legislature of Louisiana on the 4th instant, I have no knowledge or information which has not been received by me since that time and published. My first information was from the papers of the morning of the 5th of January. I did not know that any such thing was anticipated, and no orders nor suggestions were ever given to any military officer in that State upon that subject prior to the occurrence. I am well aware that any military interference by the officers or troops

of the United States with the organization of the State legislature or any of its proceedings, or with any civil department of the Government, is repugnant to our ideas of government. I can conceive of no case, not involving rebellion or insurrection, where such interference by authority of the General Government ought to be permitted or can be justified. But there are circumstances connected with the late legislative imbroglia in Louisiana which seem to exempt the military from any intentional wrong in that matter. Knowing that they had been placed in Louisiana to prevent domestic violence and aid in the enforcement of the State laws, the officers and troops of the United States may well have supposed that it was their duty to act when called upon by the governor for that purpose.

Each branch of a legislative assembly is the judge of the election and qualifications of its own members. But if a mob, or a body of unauthorized persons seize and hold the legislative hall in a tumultuous and riotous manner, and so prevent any organization by those legally returned as elected, it might become the duty of the State executive to interpose, if requested by a majority of the members elect, to suppress the disturbance and enable the persons elected to organize the house.

Any exercise of this power would only be justifiable under most extraordinary circumstances, and it would then be the duty of the governor to call upon the constabulary, or, if necessary, the military force of the State. But with reference to Louisiana, it is to be borne in mind that any attempt by the governor to use the police force of that State at this time would have undoubtedly precipitated a bloody conflict with the White League, as it did on the 14th of September.

There is no doubt but that the presence of the United States troops upon that occasion prevented bloodshed and the loss of life. Both parties appear to have relied upon them as conservators of the public peace.

The first call was made by the democrats to remove persons obnoxious to them from the legislative hall; and the second was from the republicans to remove persons who had usurped seats in the legislature without legal certificates authorizing them to seats, and in sufficient number to change the majority.

Nobody was disturbed by the military who had a legal right at that time to occupy a seat in the legislature. That the democratic minority of the house undertook to seize its organization by fraud and violence; that in this attempt they trampled under foot law; that they undertook to make persons not returned as elected members, so as to create a majority; that they acted under a preconceived plan, and under false pretenses introduced into the hall a body of men to support their pretensions by force, if necessary, and that conflict, disorder, and riotous proceedings followed, are facts that seem to be well established, and I am credibly informed that these violent proceedings were a part of a premeditated plan to have the house organized in this way, recognize what has been called the McEnery senate, then to depose Governor Kellogg, and so revolutionize the State government.

Whether it was wrong for the governor, at the request of the majority of the members returned as elected to the house, to use such means as were in his power to defeat these lawless and revolutionary proceedings, is perhaps a debatable question, but it is quite certain that there would have been no trouble if those who now complain of illegal interference had allowed the house to be organized in a lawful and regular manner. When those who inaugurate disorder and anarchy disavow such proceedings, it will be time enough to condemn those who, by such means as they have, prevent the success of their lawless and desperate schemes.

Lieutenant-General Sheridan was requested by me to go to Louisiana to observe and report the situation there, and, if in his opinion necessary, to assume the command, which he did on the 4th instant, after the legislative disturbances had occurred, at 9 o'clock p. m., a number of hours after the disturbances. No party motives nor prejudices can reasonably be imputed to him; but honestly convinced by what he has seen and heard there, he has characterized the leaders of the White Leagues in severe terms, and suggested summary modes of procedure against them, which, though they cannot be adopted, would, if legal, soon put an end to the troubles and disorders in that State. General Sheridan was looking at facts, and, possibly, not thinking of proceedings which would be the only proper ones to pursue in time of peace, thought more of the utterly lawless condition of society surrounding him at the time of his dispatch, and of what would prove a sure remedy. He never proposed to do an illegal act, nor expressed determination to proceed beyond what the law in the future might authorize for the punishment of the atrocities which have been committed, and the commission of which cannot be successfully denied. It is a deplorable fact that political crimes and murders have been committed in Louisiana which have gone unpunished, and which have been justified or apologized for, which must rest as a reproach upon the State and country long after the present generation has passed away.

I have no desire to have United States troops interfere in the domestic concerns of Louisiana or any other State.

On the ninth of December last Governor Kellogg telegraphed to me his apprehensions that the White League intended to make another attack upon the State-house, to which, on the same day, I made the following answer, since which no communication has been sent to him:

"Your dispatch of this date just received. It is exceedingly unpalatable to use troops in anticipation of danger. Let the State authorities be right, and then proceed with their duties without apprehension of danger. If they are then molested, the question will be determined whether the United States is able to maintain law and order within its limits, or not."

I have deplored the necessity which seemed to make it my duty under the Constitution and laws to direct such interference. I have always refused except where it seemed to be my imperative duty to act in such a manner under the Constitution and laws of the United States. I have repeatedly and earnestly entreated the people of the South to live together in peace, and obey the laws; and nothing would give me greater pleasure than to see reconciliation and tranquillity everywhere prevail, and thereby remove all necessity for the presence of troops among them. I regret, however, to say that this state of things does not exist, nor does its existence seem to be desired in some localities; and as to those it may be proper for me to say that, to the extent that Congress has conferred power upon me to prevent it, neither Ku-Klux-Klans, White Leagues, nor any other association using arms and violence to execute their unlawful purposes, can be permitted in that way to govern any part of this country; nor can I see with indifference Union men or republicans ostracised, persecuted, and murdered on account of their opinions, as they now are in some localities.

I have heretofore urged the case of Louisiana upon the attention of Congress, and I cannot but think that its inaction has produced great evil.

To summarize: In September last an armed, organized body of men, in the support of candidates who had been put in nomination for the offices

of governor and lieutenant-governor, at the November election, in 1872, and who had been declared not elected by the board of canvassers, recognized by all the courts to which the question had been submitted, undertook to subvert and overthrow the State government that had been recognized by me, in accordance with previous precedents. The recognized governor was driven from the State-house, and, but for his finding shelter in the United States custom-house, in the capital of the State of which he was governor, it is scarcely to be doubted that he would have been killed.

From the State-house, before he had been driven to the custom-house, a call was made in accordance with the fourth section, fourth article of the Constitution of the United States, for the aid of the General Government to suppress domestic violence. Under those circumstances, and in accordance with my sworn duties, my proclamation of the 15th of September, 1874, was issued. This served to reinstate Governor Kellogg to his position nominally; but it cannot be claimed that the insurgents have, to this day, surrendered to the State authorities the arms belonging to the State, or that they have in any sense disarmed. On the contrary, it is known, that the same armed organizations that existed on the 14th of September, 1874, in opposition to the recognized State government, still retain their organization, equipments, and commanders, and can be called out at any hour to resist the State government. Under these circumstances, the same military force has been continued in Louisiana as was sent there under the first call, and under the same general instructions. I repeat that the task assumed by the troops is not a pleasant one to them; that the Army is not composed of lawyers capable of judging at a moment's notice of just how far they can go in the maintenance of law and order, and that it was impossible to give specific instructions providing for all possible contingencies that might arise. The troops were bound to act upon the judgment of the commanding officer upon each sudden contingency that arose, or wait instructions which could only reach them after the threatened wrongs had been committed which they were called on to prevent. It should be recollected, too, that upon my recognition of the Kellogg government, I reported the fact, with the grounds of recognition, to Congress, and asked that body to take action in the matter; otherwise, I should regard their silence as an acquiescence in my course. No action has been taken by that body, and I have maintained the position then marked out.

If error has been committed by the Army in these matters, it has always been on the side of the preservation of good order, the maintenance of law, and the protection of life. Their bearing reflects credit upon the soldiers, and if wrong has resulted, the blame is with the turbulent element surrounding them.

I now earnestly ask that such action be taken by Congress as to leave my duties perfectly clear in dealing with the affairs of Louisiana, giving assurance at the same time that whatever may be done by that body in the premises will be executed according to the spirit and letter of the law, without fear or favor.

I herewith transmit copies of documents containing more specific information as to the subject-matter of the resolution.

U. S. GRANT.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,  
January 13, 1875.

## ACCOMPANYING DOCUMENTS.

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STATE OF LOUISIANA, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,  
*New Orleans, August 19, 1874.*

SIR: I regret to have to trouble you again about our affairs, but the exceptional circumstances surrounding us, and the importance of the issues involved, render it necessary that I should make a brief statement of the situation.

Louisiana is now the last State in the Southwest, except Mississippi, that remains true to the republican party. We have a large majority of the legal voters of the State. Even our opponents now admit it, and, refuting their own often-repeated assertions of last year, that a heavy colored vote was polled for the fusion candidates, assert in their published call that all efforts to persuade the colored element to unite with them have failed, and consequently that other means must be resorted to. Accordingly they have abandoned the policy of fraud, upon which they relied in 1872, and have returned to the policy of murder, violence, and intimidation which they pursued in 1868 to such purpose that out of nearly eighty thousand republican votes in the State barely six thousand votes were cast for yourself and the national republican ticket.

The great majority of the republican voters of this State are colored, though we are daily receiving large accessions of white voters, especially in the city of New Orleans, where we shall probably poll from four to five thousand more white votes than at the last election. In the river parishes, which are easily accessible, and where our numerical superiority is very great, we shall probably be able to preserve peace and bring out our full vote in the coming election without much trouble; but in the more distant parishes of the State, lying on the borders of Arkansas and Texas, where turbulence and lawlessness are chronic, much violence already prevails, and much more is anticipated before election.

The State is doing, and will do, all it can to suppress these internal disorders, but there are influences of a very powerful kind which are being used against us. The eminently just and proper action of the National Administration in the affairs of Arkansas and Texas is represented as indicating a settled purpose on the part of yourself to "let the South alone," and not to extend to any republican government in the Southern States the protection of the General Government, no matter what domestic violence may be set afoot. This impression has been industriously circulated in the parishes lying near the Arkansas and Texas line, and, taken in connection with the decision of Judge Bradley, releasing the Grant Parish murderers, has had a very bad effect. At the same time, while this impression is being circulated with regard to the attitude of the President, the pronounced hostility of these men to the National Government remains as bitter as ever.

By the re-distribution of districts, this State is entitled to representation by six Congressmen in the next Congress. In five at least out of

the six districts we have an undoubted republican majority, and we can elect our candidates if we can have a fair election, uncontrolled by violence. I have felt it due alike to the National Administration and to the State government that the coming election should be held clear of all suspicions of fraud, such as have tainted previous elections in Louisiana. Accordingly, I have approved and promulgated an act passed by the last legislature providing for an entirely new registration throughout the State. I have voluntarily pledged myself to give the opposition a clerk in every registration-office in the State, and our new law gives them a commissioner at every poll. So far as the State administration is concerned, the next election will be one of the fairest ever held in Louisiana.

But it is necessary that every republican voter should know that he will be protected if violently interfered with in the exercise of the rights conferred upon him by Congress and the Constitution, and should feel that he is not beyond the reach of the national arm. Except a handful of men at Colfax, we have no United States troops in the State, and have had none since the Nineteenth Infantry were removed, which is now several months since. There are troops now stationed at Holly Springs, Miss., who, I believe, are designed for service in this State. If they were promptly assigned to the respective stations heretofore occupied by the Nineteenth Infantry, whom they have been sent to relieve, one great incentive to the outrages and violence now prevailing would be at once removed.

The heated term here has apparently passed, and the State is healthier than it has been for many years. Not a single case of yellow fever has anywhere manifested itself, nor is there any epidemic disease prevailing. I respectfully and earnestly suggest that if the United States troops were returned to their posts in this State, such a course would have a most salutary effect, and would prevent much bloodshed, and probably a formal call upon the President and a renewed agitation of the Louisiana question, which otherwise a quiet, fair election next November would forever set at rest, and fully vindicate your just policy toward us.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

WM. P. KELLOGG.

His Excellency PRESIDENT GRANT,  
*Long Branch.*

[Telegram.]

NEW ORLEANS, August 30, 1874.

Attorney-General WILLIAMS,  
*Washington, D. C. :*

The registration of voters throughout the State for election of Congressmen commences to-morrow in several parishes. Large bodies of armed and mounted white men have appeared. Through fear of them, the blacks will be unable to register or vote in case of a conflict, which I regard as imminent. I shall be unable to enforce the laws of Congress without a posse of troops. It is believed the mere presence of United States troops in this district will prevent interference with the blacks in their registration. I therefore request, through the Attorney-General, that the Secretary of War order a sufficient force to this district immediately to aid in the discharge of my duty as required by law.

S. B. PACKARD,

*United States Marshal.*



[Telegram.]

NEW ORLEANS, August 30, 1874.

Hon. GEO. H. WILLIAMS,  
*Attorney-General, Washington :*

A gross outrage has just been perpetrated at Coushatta, Red River Parish, in the northwestern portion of the State. A large number of White-Leaguers from that and other parishes near the Texas and Arkansas line invaded the parish, in order to force the parish officers to resign. They refused; but after a short conflict, in which several persons were killed, to avoid further bloodshed, these officers and other leading republicans surrendered. Red River Parish, a new parish formed some four years since, is strongly republican, there being three colored to one white. It was returned as largely republican by the fusionists at last election. Coushatta, though small, is the most thriving landing on Upper Red River, and is owned mainly by northern men. It is known, however, as one of the strongholds of republicanism in that portion of the State; the people pay taxes, are industrious and law-abiding. A more wanton outrage was never committed in any civilized community, as an investigation will fully show. The White-Leaguers, in order to carry out more effectually their avowed plan of carrying the State by terrifying republicans, and preventing their registering and voting, as was done in 1868, have inaugurated violence in several of the northern parishes. There are no troops in that portion of the State, and, indeed, none in the State, except a company at Colfax. As the evident intention of the White League is to inaugurate domestic violence and interference with the rights of the colored citizens, especially in the remote parishes where our State militia cannot be sent, and as the registration of voters throughout the State commences to-morrow, I respectfully suggest that the troops now in Mississippi, designed, I believe, to take the place of the Nineteenth Infantry, ordered away in July, be directed to resume the posts vacated by said regiment. A systematic effort has been and is being made by the opposition to create the impression that no troops will, under any circumstances, be sent into the State. The presence of troops, it is believed, will go far to prevent violence and bloodshed. No danger need be apprehended on sanitary grounds, as both city and State are perfectly healthy, not the slightest sign of epidemic disease existing, or likely to occur this season.

WM. P. KELLOGG.

[Telegram.]

NEW ORLEANS, LA., August 31.  
 (Via Long Branch, September 1.)

Hon. GEO. H. WILLIAMS,  
*Attorney-General United States, Washington, D. C. :*

The statement telegraphed you last night, regarding the outrage at Red River Parish, has been fully confirmed. Further information has just been received that the parish officers and others who surrendered to the White League were being taken to Shreveport by a number of white men. *En route* they were all shot in cold blood. Among the murdered men were Homer J. Twitchell, who came south in a Vermont regiment during the war and settled as a planter in Red River Parish; Eggleston, sheriff; Dewees, supervisor; and Halland and Howells, law-

yers. There were six white republicans, all but two northern men, and several colored, murdered in this affair. Red River Parish is near the Texas line, and is among the strongest republican parishes in the State. Predatory bands of armed men are scouring several of the republican parishes in that portion of the State, driving out republicans and intimidating colored men. Registration commenced to-day, and an openly avowed policy of exterminating republicans.

WM. P. KELLOGG.

[Telegram.]

NEW ORLEANS, LA., *September 1, 1874.*

Attorney-General WILLIAMS,

*Washington:*

SIR: We respectfully refer you to the telegram sent to the Washington National Republican, giving a detailed account of the outrages recently perpetrated in Coushatta, La., and will state that some of the members of our families were the victims, and that as the State authorities can render no protection for life or property, and further, that as we are citizens of that parish, where our families, houses, and crops are without protection, we implore immediate protection from the United States authorities, and that a company of United States troops be sent to Coushatta at once.

M. H. TWICHELL.

E. W. DEWEES.

A. O. P. PICKENS.

[Telegram.]

NEW ORLEANS, *September 1, 1874.*

Hon. GEO. H. WILLIAMS,

*Attorney-General United States, Washington:*

Telegraphed you last night regarding Coushatta affair to Long Branch, care of President. If you have not left Washington, please direct operator at Long Branch to repeat. Further information makes the affair worse even than first reported. The six white men killed were all of good character—planters and business men—but four of them were northern republicans.

WM. P. KELLOGG.

[Telegram.]

NEW ORLEANS, *September 10, 1873.*

To Attorney-General WILLIAMS:

Courier just arrived reports the reign of terror unabated at Coushatta; murders going on daily. A military camp of White Leaguers established in the town, which is being supplied with provisions. We respectfully represent that unless United States troops are sent and retained there, it will be impossible to stop the murder and secure the testimony to prosecute the murderers. Refer to Senator West.

M. H. TWICHELL,

*State Senator.*

E. W. DEWEES,

*Representative, Red River Parish.*

[Telegram.]

NEW ORLEANS, *September 13, 1874.*

Attorney-General WILLIAMS,  
*Washington, D. C. :*

Some morning papers and incendiary notices posted, call upon citizens to close stores and meet at Clay statue at 11 a. m. to-morrow. Danger of conflict imminent. No troops here at present, but General Emory telegraphs me that he will send detachment from Jackson to-night. If so, they will arrive to-morrow.

S. B. PACKARD,  
*United States Marshal.*

[Telegram.]

NEW YORK, *September 13, 1874.*

Hon. GEO. H. WILLIAMS,  
*Attorney-General, Washington :*

The troops are ordered away from Colfax. If not countermanded I fear all of the witnesses in late Mapoce trial will be killed.

J. R. BECKWITH.

[Telegram.]

NEW ORLEANS, *September 14, 1874.*

Attorney-General WILLIAMS,  
*Washington, D. C. :*

The White League, armed, have occupied the city-hall, and have cut the wires of the fire-alarm and police telegraph.

S. B. PACKARD,  
*United States Marshal.*

[Telegram.]

NEW ORLEANS, *September 14, 1874.*

To President GRANT, *Washington :*

Under article four, section 4, of the Constitution of the United States, I have the honor to inform you that the State is now subject to domestic violence of a character that the State forces, under existing circumstances, are unable to suppress, and the legislature not being in session and not being able to be convened within the requisite time to take action in this matter, I respectfully make requisition upon you to take measures to put down the domestic violence and insurrection now prevailing.

WM. P. KELLOGG,  
*Governor of Louisiana.*

[Telegram.]

NEW ORLEANS, *September 14, 1874.*

Attorney-General WILLIAMS,  
*Washington, D. C. :*

A meeting of about two thousand has been held, and a committee sent, demanding the governor's immediate resignation. The committee was received by assistant attorney-general, also a member of the governor's staff, and by direction of the governor, informed the committee that the governor refused to receive any communication from a body of

armed men accompanied with a menace. The people assembled at the meeting were generally unarmed, but large bodies of White Leaguers are under arms in the vicinity, awaiting orders. The meeting dismissed and the people notified to come to Canal street to-night at four o'clock with their arms and blankets, and camp there. Mr. Marr, chairman democratic committee, was chairman of the committee to demand the governor's resignation. There is little doubt of a conflict to-night. I have a company of United States troops guarding the custom-house building, that arrived, on my requisition, from Jackson, Miss., this morning. Four companies are *en route* from Holly Springs, expected at four o'clock, if not intercepted as threatened. The armed gathering to-night is avowedly to attempt the overthrow of the State government; if successful, the murder of leading republicans. The local authorities have several hundred men under arms at State-house and arsenals. The State authorities are exercising the utmost discretion, in order that if blood be shed, it will be precipitated by the White League.

S. B. PACKARD,  
*United States Marshal.*

[Telegram.]

NEW ORLEANS, *September 14, 1874.* (Received 11.45 p. m.)

Attorney-General WILLIAMS,  
*Washington, D. C.:*

The detachment from Holly Springs arrived at 5 p. m. There was a short fight between the police and White League, between four and five o'clock, before the arrival of the troops. Estimated loss of police fifteen killed and thirty wounded. General Badger, commanding police, was mortally wounded. General Longstreet retired to the State-house, which he holds, no attack having been made. The purpose of the riot is overthrow of the State government. Several United States soldiers are reported arrested by the League while on the street unarmed. The military force is inadequate to protect the public property and keep the peace of the city besides.

S. B. PACKARD,  
*United States Marshal.*

[Telegram.]

NEW ORLEANS, *September 15, 1874.*

To President GRANT, *Washington:*

Armed mobs reported all over city; leaguers much more formidable than supposed; appear to be coming in from abroad. Five days' delay will, we fear, cost hundreds of lives; prompt action is necessary.

W. G. BROWN,  
*Superintendent of Public Instruction.*  
CHAS. CLINTON, *Auditor.*

[Telegram.]

SAINT FRANCISVILLE, *September 19, 1874.*  
(*Via Bayou Sara, La., September 19, 1874.*)

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL, *Washington:*

The timely arrival of Federal troops has saved the lives of unoffending republicans. We look confidently to the loyal North for the support

which they have so generously extended the weak, and hope the protection of the Government will continue until the elections are over. Life is dear to us, but we can't risk an article so precious when surrounded by murderous White Leaguers.

ROBT HEWLITT,  
*Mayor.*

NEW ORLEANS, *November 1, 1874.*

Extract from letter of Deputy Marshal Stockton, dated Natchitoches, October 22, 1874:

There should be a company of infantry here now, and remain all winter. These people swear as soon as I go away with the cavalry they intend to kill all the prominent white and black republicans in the parish. It is rumored to-day that at the meeting of the White League last night, which was addressed by Levy and Moncreure, only seventy-five present, twelve prominent republicans were selected to be killed as soon as the cavalry left here, among whom are Bolt and sons, Pierson, Blunt, Breda, &c. Moncreure urged them to make it too hot for them to live here, &c. These peaceable citizens marched to the hall under military commands. The greatest reign of terror and intimidation all over the town, of three thousand inhabitants, and the parish. Both Lieutenants McIntosh and Wallace say there is more and greater disloyalty here openly avowed than they ever knew in any other part of the United States; and the moment we leave here they believe a large number will be killed, because these White-Leaguers say the leading republicans here have been at the bottom of these arrests. You cannot imagine the state of affairs here. If the President intends to make good the assertion, that any citizen shall be as safe in any part of Louisiana as in Massachusetts, he will have to order a company of troops to remain here permanently. I see and feel that our operations here, which for the time have upset all the calculations of the White-Leaguers, will only add increased revenge when we retire. It is a sad state of affairs, and can only be corrected by the military arm of the Government, and that arm must have positive instructions to render immediate aid, or be commanded by an officer like Lieutenant McIntosh, who comprehends the situation, perceives the effect, and knows how to remove the cause.

I have the honor, therefore, to request you to direct that a post be established at Natchitoches, and that General Emory be ordered to place a company of troops there.

Very respectfully,

S. B. PACKARD,  
*United States Marshal.*

[Telegram.]

NEW ORLEANS, *October 19, 1874.*

Hon. GEORGE H. WILLIAMS,

*Attorney-General United States, Washington, D. C. :*

We have authentic information that systematic violence and intimidation will be practiced toward republican voters on the day of election at three or four points in this State. We earnestly request that General Emory be instructed to send troops to Franklin, Saint Mary's Parish; Napoleonville, Assumption Parish; and Moreauville, Avoyelles Parish. Governor Kellogg will furnish transportation to these points without cost to the Government.

S. B. PACKARD,  
*Chairman State Central Committee.*  
WM. P. KELLOGG.  
C. B. DARRALL.  
JAS. F. CASEY.  
J. H. SYPHER.  
FRANK MOREY.

[Telegram.]

NEW ORLEANS, *December 9, 1874.*President GRANT, *Washington :*

Information reaches me that the White League purpose making an attack upon the State-house, especially that portion occupied by the treasurer of the State; the organization is very numerous and well armed, and the State forces now available are not sufficient to resist successfully any movement they make with a view of preventing such an attempt, and the bloodshed which would be likely to result should an insurgent body again take possession of the State-house and in dispersing them. I respectfully request that a detachment of United States troops be stationed in that portion of the Saint Louis Hotel which is not used for any of the State officers, where they will be readily available to prevent any such insurrectionary movement as that contemplated.

WM. P. KELLOGG,  
*Governor of Louisiana.*

[Telegram.]

NEW ORLEANS, *December 10, 1874.*President GRANT, *Washington, D. C. :*

I transmit the following dispatch by request of Ex-Governor Wells, president of the returning board.

WM. P. KELLOGG.

NEW ORLEANS, *December 10, 1874.*

President GRANT :

Authentic information in possession of the returning-board justifies them in believing that an attack is intended upon the Saint Louis Hotel, now occupied as a State-house, wherein the returning-board holds its sessions, and where the returns of the late elections are deposited. The board has nearly completed a careful and impartial canvass of the returns, in compliance with law, and expect to make promulgations therefrom as soon as the same can be properly compiled. The members of the board are being publicly and privately threatened with violence, and an attack upon the State-house, which is likely to result in bloodshed, is also threatened. By request of the board, I respectfully ask that a detachment of troops be stationed in the State-house, so that the deliberations and final action of the board may be free from intimidation and violence.

J. MADISON WELLS,  
*President of State Returning-Board.*

SHREVEPORT, LA., *December 16, 1874.*

DEAR SIR: My position as United States commissioner for this locality has made me somewhat intimately acquainted with the condition of affairs in North Louisiana, which I think you ought to be informed of. This is my apology for troubling you with this communication.

You are already informed of the general character of the late political canvass in this State, as conducted by the whites, and of the results. Without attempting to define the precise *modus operandi* of the white man's party here, it is scarcely too much to say that the white voters of each parish north of Red River constituted an armed conspiracy, with the scarcely-disguised purpose of carrying the election at all events—by threats, intimidation, and fraud if possible, and by violence if necessary, all of which, first and last, were used freely.



The scheme here was to expel from the country the republican leaders, and then to frighten the negroes into acquiescence with their wishes; and this scheme was pursued to the end, with this modification, that after the arrival of troops the expelled leaders returned, but did not dare to go out of Shreveport, and did not dare to mingle freely with the people or to express publicly their sentiments.

The whites in all this portion of the State were united upon this programme almost to a man. This unanimity did not result all from choice, but so formidable had the organization become by August that even those who disapproved no longer dared to resist, even passively, and took shelter in the white party.

The blacks are numerically far superior to the whites in all this part of the State, nearly  $2\frac{1}{2}$  to 1—at any rate, more than an average of 2 to 1; yet, when you consider the ignorance and dependence of these blacks, and their consequent timidity, and that the leaders—white and black—were either banished or silenced, it will not be difficult for you to comprehend how the white minority dominated so completely the colored majority and carried out their programme. The blacks, unorganized and unadvised, were quietly and peaceably pursuing their labor, cultivating the crops, while the whites, who habitually, to a greater or less extent, cheat them of the rewards of their labor, were banding themselves together to defraud them of their right of suffrage also.

The Coushatta affair, occurring in the last days of July, and in the guilt of which, we believe from our present knowledge, not less than two hundred whites participated, more or less proximately, seemed to serve them as an incentive to closer union and more rigorous action. A very large number, scattered up and down the river, from Shreveport to Natchitoches, seeking immunity from their guilt in the destruction of all law and public order, redoubled their efforts to terrorize the blacks, and to annihilate all opposition.

Perhaps I cannot give you in few words a better idea of the ascendant arrogance and intolerance of the white leaders, than to say that the Shreveport Times newspaper—the leading exponent of the principles of the party in the State—boldly and unqualifiedly justified the Coushatta assassination on the sole ground of political necessity.

The orators of the party did substantially the same thing during the canvass, and the less prudent speak of it to this day as a good thing. Even Governor McEnery, in a speech in this place, as I am well informed, openly advocated the lynching of one of the republican leaders residing here, and a man of good character.

The republican meetings during the canvass were composed mostly of blacks, generally not more than three to five or six white republicans. There were always present enough turbulent whites to overawe the meeting, and frequently to break it up. At these meetings the whites did not hesitate to threaten the blacks with condign punishment if they persisted in voting the republican ticket.

Among the milder forms of intimidation resorted to were such announcements as the following:

We, the undersigned, merchants and business men of Shreveport, in obedience to a request of the Shreveport Campaign Club, agree to use every endeavor to get our employes to vote the people's ticket at the ensuing election, and in the event of their refusal so to do, or in case they vote the radical ticket, to refuse to employ them at the expiration of their present contracts.

I inclose a short editorial on one of these cards, taken from the Shreveport Times of the 23d of October.

It would be tedious to attempt to fill up this general outline. If your

S. Ex. 13—2

imagination supplies for details that only a general apprehension of material consequences—loss of their present crops, loss of employment, disruption of their heretofore friendly relations with the whites, the proprietors of the soil, but an absolute and constant fear of personal danger, especially to all such as were supposed to have any prominence or influence among their fellows as political leaders; this fear frequently strengthened and even intensified by the actual experience of personal violence, you will not have an exaggerated idea of what was the real condition of the colored people here at the time of election.

It is humiliating in the extreme to contemplate the condition of the freedmen in Louisiana, in the light of American citizens, under the protection of a great and benevolent Government. Emboldened by the prospective success of the infamous scheme of the election, the whites are now driving the freedmen from their homes, naked and penniless, to endure the severities of winter as best they may. This very evening, and since I commenced this letter, a colored man, of honest and intelligent expression, comes in and tells me that last night, about 9 o'clock, his employer, a white man, (well known to me,) by force (displaying a pistol and threatening to use it) put him and his wife and three helpless children out of their house to spend the night, as best they might, in the public highway, which they did under the open canopy of heaven; and what may be put down as a special aggravation of the offense is, that two of the children were ill and taking medicine, and one of them was so ill that it was not expected to survive. These people (turned out) *were partners in the crop which they had raised on the lands of the man who turned them out, and the crop had not yet been divided and is all in the possession of the land-owner who turned them out.* This man had voted the republican ticket at the late election.

This is only one case in many coming to my knowledge daily. A few days ago, complaint was made before me against seven white men in the adjoining parish of De Soto, charging them with conspiring to plunder, rob, and murder one poor defenseless old negro by the name of John Allston, and an extensive and full inquiry into the matter revealed the fact that *the charge was well laid*, for they in fact not only plundered him and his family, but murdered the old man outright. Four of these are now under bond for their appearance, and the rest have fled.

These people are systematically intimidated, brow-beaten, personally maltreated, cheated of their earnings, cheated of their suffrage, driven from their homes in penury to endure the inclemency of winter, and cheated of their rights to vindicate themselves before the courts. In simple truth, they no longer have any rights which the whites voluntarily respect, or which they have themselves the means or ability to make them respect. To submit their claims for adjustment to the mixed juries of our local courts, where the influence of the whites is wholly predominant, would be the veriest farce conceivable, and the attorney, if one could be found at all, would have to become answerable for court costs and work for nothing, all at the peril of his professional standing.

So numerous and wholesale are the offenses of the whites against these defenseless creatures, that I almost hesitate to name approximately the number of persons subject to arrest and punishment for aggravated violation of the enforcement and Ku-Klux acts, within fifty miles of this place. To be entirely safe, I will put it at two hundred and fifty. What is the relief for this state of things? It seems clear to us that the only glimmer of hope for the freedmen is in a *vigorous enforcement of the Federal laws, and that speedily*; and when we contemplate this resource, and

measure the capacity of the courts, as now established by the enormous amount of business to be transacted, it becomes at once obvious that the facilities for the administration of the laws of Congress in Louisiana are entirely inadequate.

As now established, the Federal courts sit in this district only in New Orleans—700 miles away from here by the nearest and speediest mode of travel. Considering that what has been said above of the condition of two or three parishes adjacent to Shreveport is true, to a greater or less degree of every parish in the State, how would it be possible for any single court to answer the demands of this exigency? Besides, if the courts sitting in New Orleans had time to transact the business in full, the expense and general impracticability of sending witnesses so far before the grand jury, and then to attend the final trial, will, to my mind, be such as itself to defeat substantially every attempt to bring these violators of the law to justice, and they will thus go unpunished.

My object in writing this letter has been and is, not only to give you a reliable statement of our condition here generally, but specially to enable you to see the importance of increased facilities in the way of administering the law in this section, and to invoke the exercise of your influence for the establishment of a United States district court for North Louisiana. This, in my opinion, is an immediate and imperative necessity; without it the authority of the Federal laws will be scarcely known or heard of, and certainly not feared or respected, in North Louisiana.

I have been a resident of Shreveport nearly twenty years, and of the South since the year 1847.

I have further to add, that I have had the honor to read this letter to General Lewis Merrill, commanding this division, and he authorizes me to say that he fully indorses every statement and suggestion contained in it.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully,

A. B. LEVISA.

Hon. G. H. WILLIAMS,  
*Attorney-General United States.*

[Confidential.]

WAR DEPARTMENT,  
*Washington City, December 24, 1874.*

General P. H. SHERIDAN,  
*Chicago, Ill.:*

GENERAL: The President sent for me this morning, and desires me to say to you that he wishes you to visit the States of Louisiana and Mississippi, and especially New Orleans, in Louisiana, and Vicksburgh and Jackson, in Mississippi, and ascertain for yourself, and for his information, the general condition of matters in those localities. You need not confine your visit to the States of Louisiana and Mississippi, and may extend your trip to other States, Alabama, &c., if you see proper; nor need you confine your visit, in the States of Louisiana and Mississippi, to the places named. What the President desires is to ascertain the true condition of affairs, and to receive such suggestions from you as you may deem advisable and judicious.

Inclosed herewith is an order authorizing you to assume command of the Military Division of the South, or of any portion of that division, should you see proper to do so. It may be possible that circumstances

may arise which would render this a proper course to pursue. You can, if you desire it, see General McDowell in Louisville, and make known to him confidentially the object of your trip; but this is not required of you. Communication with him by you is left entirely to your own judgment.

Of course you can take with you such gentlemen of your staff as you wish, and it is best that the trip should appear to be one as much of pleasure as of business, for the fact of your mere presence in the localities referred to will have, it is presumed, a beneficial effect.

The President thinks, and so do I, that a trip south might be agreeable to you, and that you might be able to obtain a good deal of information on the subject about which we desire to learn. You can make your return by Washington and make a verbal report, and also inform me from time to time of your views and conclusions.

Yours truly, &c.,

WM. W. BELKNAP,  
*Secretary of War.*

WAR DEPARTMENT, ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE,  
*Washington, December 24, 1874.*

Lieut. Gen. P. H. SHERIDAN,  
*United States Army, Chicago, Ill.:*

SIR: If in the course of the inspection and investigation the Secretary of War has directed you to make, in his communication of this date, you should find it necessary to assume command over the Military Division of the South, or any portion thereof, the President of the United States hereby authorizes and instructs you to take the command accordingly, and to establish your headquarters at such point as you may deem best for the interests of the public service.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,  
E. D. TOWNSEND,  
*Adjutant-General.*

Copy of above letter furnished General McDowell, commanding Military Division of the South, January 5, 1875.

[Telegram.]

HEADQUARTERS MILITARY DIVISION OF MISSOURI,  
*Chicago, Ill., Dec. 26, 1874.*

General W. W. BELKNAP,  
*Washington, D. C.:*

Your letter received all right.

P. H. SHERIDAN,  
*Lieutenant-General.*

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES,  
*Saint Louis, Mo., December 30, 1874.*

GENERAL: I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your confidential communication of December 26, with inclosures.

Your obedient servant,

W. T. SHERMAN,  
*General.*

Gen. W. W. BELKNAP,  
*Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.*

[Telegram.]

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
New Orleans, January 4, 1875.

The PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,  
Washington, D. C.:

I have the honor to inform you that the house of representatives of this State was organized to-day by the election of myself as speaker, fifty-eight members, two more than a quorum voting, with a full house present. More than two hours after the organization I was informed by the officer in command of the United States troops in this city that he had been requested by Governor Kellogg to remove certain members of the house from the State-house, and that, under his orders, he was obliged to comply with the request. I protested against any interference of the United States with the organization or proceedings of the house, but notwithstanding this the officer in command marched a company of soldiers upon the floor of the house, and by force removed thirteen members, who had been legally and constitutionally seated as such, and who, at time of such forcible removal, were participating in the proceedings of the house. In addition to this, the military declared their purpose to further interfere with force in the business and organization of this assembly, upon which some fifty-two members and the speaker withdrew, declining to participate any longer in the business of the house under the dictation of the military. As speaker, I respectfully appeal to you to know by what authority and under what law the United States Army interrupted and broke up a session of the house of representatives of the State of Louisiana, and to urgently request and demand that they be ordered to restore the house to the position it occupied when they so interfered, and, further, that they be instructed that it is no part of their duty to interfere in any manner with the internal workings of the general assembly. The house is the representation of the sovereignty of the State, and I know of no law which warrants either the executive of the State or the United States Army to interfere with its organization or proceedings.

LOUIS A. WILTZ,  
Speaker of the House of Representatives  
of the State of Louisiana.

[Telegram.]

HEADQUARTERS DIVISION OF THE MISSOURI,  
New Orleans, January 4, 1875. (Received 4—11.45 p. m.)

W. W. BELKNAP,  
Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.:

It is with deep regret that I have to announce to you the existence in this State of a spirit of defiance to all lawful authority and an insecurity of life which is hardly realized by the General Government or the country at large. The lives of citizens have become so jeopardized that unless something is done to give protection to the people, all security usually afforded by law will be overridden. Defiance to the laws and the murder of individuals seems to be looked upon by the community here from a standpoint which gives impunity to all who choose to indulge in either, and the civil government appears powerless to punish or even arrest. I have to-night assumed control over the Department of the Gulf.

P. H. SHERIDAN,  
Lieutenant-General United States Army.

[Telegram.]

WAR DEPARTMENT, ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE,  
Washington, January 5, 1875.

Lieut. Gen. SHERIDAN,  
*United States Army, New Orleans, La.:*

Your telegram, dated the 4th, describing state of things, and reporting you have assumed control over the Department of the Gulf, was received by the Secretary of War, and is approved.

E. D. TOWNSEND,  
*Adjutant General.*

[Telegram dated New Orleans, January 4, 1875. Received 2.40 a. m.]

The ADJUTANT-GENERAL OF THE ARMY,  
Washington, D. C.:

The following order is forwarded for the information of the War Department.

P. H. SHERIDAN,  
*Lieutenant-General.*

[General Order No. 1.—9 p. m.]

Under instructions from the President of the United States, communicated through the Adjutant-General of the Army, the undersigned hereby assumes control of the Department of the Gulf, consisting of the States of Louisiana and Mississippi, and the Gulf posts as far eastward as and embracing Fort Jefferson and Key West, Florida, including the forts in Mobile Bay, which will hereafter constitute one of the departments of the Military Division of the Missouri.

P. H. SHERIDAN,  
*Lieutenant-General United States Army.*

[Telegram.]

WAR DEPARTMENT,  
ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE,  
Washington, January 5, 1875.

General W. T. SHERMAN,  
*United States Army, Saint Louis, Mo.:*

The Secretary of War directs me to inform you Lieutenant-General Sheridan has annexed Department of the Gulf to his division under authority given him by the President December twenty-fourth, (24th), eighteen hundred and seventy-four, (1874.)

The measure is deemed necessary and is approved.

E. D. TOWNSEND,  
*Adjutant-General.*

[Telegram dated Saint Louis, Mo., January 6, 1875. Received January 7.]

ADJUTANT-GENERAL *United States Army, Washington :*

Your telegram of 5th instant, stating that General Sheridan has annexed Department of Gulf to his command, &c., has been received.

W. T. SHERMAN,  
*General.*



[Telegram dated New Orleans, January 5, 1875, received at N. E. corner Fourteenth street and Pennsylvania avenue, 4.47 p. m.]

W. W. BELKNAP,

*Secretary of War, Washington, D. C. :*

Please say to the President that he need give himself no uneasiness about the condition of affairs here. I will preserve the peace, which it is not hard to do with the naval and military forces in and about the city, and if Congress will declare the White Leagues and other similar organizations, white or black, banditti, I will relieve it from the necessity of any special legislation for the preservation of peace and equality of rights in the States of Louisiana, Mississippi, Arkansas, and the Executive from much of the trouble heretofore had in this section of the country.

P. H. SHERIDAN,

*Lieutenant-General U. S. A.*

[Telegram dated Headquarters Military Division of the Missouri, New Orleans, La., January 5, 1875. Received January 5.]

W. W. BELKNAP, *Secretary of War,*

*Washington, D. C. :*

I think that the terrorism now existing in Louisiana, Mississippi, and Arkansas could be entirely removed and confidence and fair-dealing established by the arrest and trial of the ringleaders of the armed White Leagues. If Congress would pass a bill declaring them banditti they could be tried by a military commission. The ringleaders of this banditti, who murdered men here on the 14th of last September, and also more recently at Vicksburgh, Miss., should, in justice to law and order and the peace and prosperity of this southern part of the country, be punished. It is possible that if the President would issue a proclamation declaring them banditti, no further action need be taken, except that which would devolve upon me.

P. H. SHERIDAN,

*Lieutenant-General U. S. A.*

[Telegram dated New Orleans, January 6, 1875. Received 2 p. m.]

W. W. BELKNAP,

*Secretary of War, Washington, D. C. :*

I telegraph the following letter from General Merrill, for the information of the War Department.

P. H. SHERIDAN,

*Lieutenant-General.*

HEADQUARTERS DISTRICT UPPER RED RIVER,

*Shreveport, La., December 30, 1874.*

ADJUTANT-GENERAL, DEPARTMENT OF THE GULF,

*New Orleans, La. :*

SIR: Referring to your telegram of December 17, directing me, in certain events, to be in readiness to suppress violence, and let it be understood that I will do it, I have the honor to report that, in view of these instructions, I have been at some pains to investigate the probabilities of violence here, and find the following to be the facts as nearly as I can ascertain them. The State returning-board have officially announced that the candidates for office in this parish, on what is known as the radical ticket, are duly and lawfully elected; the leaders of the opposing party declare that such is

not the fact, and that the persons then declared elected shall not take or hold the offices; this determination appears to be well settled, and so generally expressed and approved by the large majority of the whites, that I have no doubt it is more than an idle threat; this expression, in many instances, is accompanied by threats of violence and even death to the officers if they attempt to take the offices, and I cannot doubt that such threats are very seriously made; they are only a repetition of what was at all times the open talk of all the leaders before the election. Three of the officers referred to are members of the lower house of the State legislature, and all three are now in New Orleans. The others are the parish judge, Creswell, the sheriff, Kefner, and several minor officers, including police, jury, justices of the peace, and constables. These are here. There is on the part of most of them such apprehension of danger in assuming their duties that, except the parish judge, I do not think any one of them will attempt, or could be induced, to take his office. The parish judge is a man of courage and coolness, and I cannot tell whether he will attempt to take his office or not. I have not seen him recently, and have no definite information of his purpose. So long as any or all of these officers refuse to exercise the functions of their office, I conceive I am not called upon to do anything in the matter. In one case where my advice was sought as to whether the office should be claimed, I distinctly and peremptorily refused to give any advice, saying that this was no part of my duty, and that these individuals must determine such question for themselves. It is, I think, pretty well understood that my instructions cover the following points and will be carried out: That I organize as the legal State officials only such persons as are recognized as such by the recognized executive or judicial officers of the State. That in the legal exercise of their official duties such officers must not be violently disturbed or interfered with, and if such violence occurs it is my duty to suppress it, and that I will do so. That my advice to all persons is, that if any question exists of the right of any person to hold any office, that such questions shall be taken before the proper legal tribunals for determination, and shall be peaceably determined by the means fixed by law for that purpose. That beyond this I have nothing to say and no advice to any one.

Whether any violence which will render military interference necessary shall occur, depends upon so many contingencies that I am not prepared to give any opinion except to say that if these officers attempt to take their office, I have no doubt whatever that it will be necessary to protect them. The three who have gone to New Orleans to take their seats as members of the legislature, beyond doubt could not safely return here now. Outside of the officers named above, there is no one left here to do violence upon. The leading radicals have left. The usual worrying and harassing of the negroes goes on with little intermission, but lately no acts of violence to person have come to my knowledge; such acts now are confined to plundering them, with or without some show of legal forms, and driving them from their homes to seek places to live elsewhere. The conflict for the offices, whether conducted by peaceable legal means or by violence, will stop what little legal check now exists upon crime and wrong-doing, and will greatly aggravate the condition of things, which is already serious enough, but I do not apprehend that it will result in extended disorder at present, because there is nothing left to work upon except the commoner orders, and partly because the leading White-Leaguers have gone to New Orleans.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

LEWIS MERRILL,  
Major Seventh Cavalry, Commanding District.

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[Telegram received in cipher January 6, 1875, from Lieut. Gen. P. H. Sheridan; dated New Orleans, La., January 5, 1875.]

W. W. BELKNAP,  
*Secretary of War:*

There is some excitement in the rotunda of the Saint Charles Hotel to-night upon the publication by the newspapers of my dispatch to you calling the secret armed organization banditti. Give yourself no uneasiness. I see my way clear enough if you will only have confidence.

P. H. SHERIDAN,  
*Lieutenant-General, U. S. A.*

[Telegram.]

WAR DEPARTMENT,  
Washington City, January 6, 1875.

Gen. P. H. SHERIDAN,  
New Orleans, La. :

Your telegrams all received. The President and all of us have full confidence and thoroughly approve your course.

WM. W. BELKNAP,  
Secretary of War.

[Telegram.]

WAR DEPARTMENT,  
Washington, January 6, 1875.

Gen. P. H. SHERIDAN,  
New Orleans, La. :

I telegraphed you hastily to-day, answering your dispatch. You seem to fear that we had been misled by biased or partial statements of your acts. Be assured that the President and Cabinet confide in your wisdom and rest in the belief that all acts of yours have been and will be judicious. This I intended to say in my brief telegram.

WM. W. BELKNAP,  
Secretary of War.

[Telegram dated New Orleans, La., January 6, 1875. Received January 6, 1875.]

Gen. W. W. BELKNAP,  
Secretary of War, Washington, D. C. :

The city is very quiet to-day. Some of the banditti made idle threats last night that they would assassinate me because I dared to tell the truth. I am not afraid, and will not be stopped from informing the Government that there are localities in this department where the very air has been impregnated with assassination for several years.

P. H. SHERIDAN,  
Lieutenant-General Commanding.

[Telegram dated New Orleans, La., January 7, 1875. Received January 7, 1875.]

W. W. BELKNAP,  
Secretary of War, Washington, D. C. :

Several prominent people have for the last few days been passing resolutions and manufacturing sensational protests for northern political consumption. They seem to be trying to make martyrs of themselves ; it cannot be done at this late day ; there have been too many bleeding negroes and ostracised white citizens for their statements to be believed by fair-minded people. Bishop Wilmer protests against my telegram of the 4th instant, forgetting that on Saturday last he testified under oath before the congressional committee that the condition of affairs here was substantially as bad as reported by me. I will soon send you a statement of the number of murders committed in this State during the last three or four years, the perpetrators of which are still unpunished. I think that the number will startle you ; it will be up in the thousands. The city is perfectly quiet. No trouble is apprehended.

P. H. SHERIDAN,  
Lieutenant-General, U. S. A.

NEW ORLEANS, LA., *January 7, 1875.*

Gen. W. W. BELKNAP,  
*Secretary of War, Washington :*

The following illustrates the action of the banditti in this State, in kidnapping a member-elect of the legislature.

P. H. SHERIDAN,  
*Lieutenant-General.*

About 10 o'clock Thursday morning, A. J. Cousin and his father arrived in this city from Covington, Saint-Tammany Parish. His statement is as follows: I was standing near the old basin, corner of Carondelet walk and Claiborne street, between 8 and 9 o'clock on Saturday morning, when I saw two men coming toward me, who told me I was their prisoner. I asked them what for. They told me to walk with them and they would tell me. One of them was Jim Poole, a merchant of Covington; the other man was a stranger to me. I asked them to let me go and tell Mr. Juño, a brick merchant on the basin, that I was arrested, so that he could inform my family, which they refused, saying they did not want me to speak to or see any one. From there they walked me straight to the parish prison and delivered me over to Capt. Floyd Flood, or some name like that, and the captain put me in the prison and had me locked up about ten minutes, when he called me and had me handcuffed by the order of Poole; they then put me in a carriage and Poole and three strange men took me to the lake end, where we arrived about noon; a few minutes after we arrived there Mr. Poole took my handcuffs off and sent the carriage back. They kept me there all day between the lake and the old basin until about four o'clock in the afternoon, when they put me in the hold of the boat called the *Camelia*. They told me the reason they put me there was that they did not want me to see or speak to anybody. I was kept inside the hold till the boat left the wharf. The gentlemen who arrested me told me that if ten policemen came to take me away from them they could not, as they were armed and would fight them if necessary. After the boat left the wharf I was allowed to come on deck. While on the boat I was treated well, was given something to eat and asked to take a drink and a cigar. Budd Hosmer, of Saint Tammany, I recognized among the men on the boat who had charge of me when the boat arrived at Mandeville.

I was taken charge of by about fifteen or twenty men, armed with muskets and fixed bayonets; most of them I knew; they told me not to be afraid, as they were not going to hurt me.

Mr. Ben. Hosmer and another gentleman took me in a carriage with two other gentlemen, when I was driven to Covington, the armed men following behind us on horseback to Covington, ten miles from Mandeville, where we arrived between eight and nine at night. The lieutenant of the company, Charley Bradley, told me that if I would not try to run away they would not hurt me. I was at first kept in a room at Mr. Thomas Lacroix's house, until Sunday afternoon at four o'clock, when they took me under guard to the court-house of Covington. They treated me well, and took me out with them, but would not allow me to see or talk with any of my friends for twenty-four hours. After refusing my father four times this request, they at last allowed him to see me. At noon on Monday two men took me into the country nine miles from Covington. The men were armed with revolvers. They said if any one attempted to take me away from them they would fight

or kill me before they would let them have me. If any soldiers came for me, they said they would run me into Washington Parish. They said they had nothing against me, and that when the legislature organized they would let me go. I was not at any time in charge of any sheriff or deputy sheriff of Saint Tammany. On Tuesday afternoon, about two o'clock, news was received of the organization of Penn's militia. Said Cousin, "You are free; only you have got to come with me before the justice of the peace, to answer the charge of embezzlement against you, when we will go your bond." They then took me before Justice Lee, when Mr. Picayune Smith made a charge of embezzlement against me, of taking fifteen dollars in parish-warrants while I was tax-collector, two years ago. These warrants are worth twenty cents on the dollar. I was the collector only two days, and settled up everything. I had no lawyer, and the case was remanded to the parish court. I was placed under bond of \$500 to appear. Lieutenant Bradley, Benjamin Hosmer, and Willis Arker went my security. Yesterday, at half past four o'clock, I left Covington for Mandeville, and arrived here at ten o'clock this morning.

[No signature.]

[Telegram, dated headquarters Military Division of the Missouri, New Orleans, La., January 8, 1875.—Received 3 a. m.]

Hon. W. W. BELKNAP,

*Secretary of War, Washington, D. C. :*

I have the honor to submit the following brief report of affairs as they occurred here in the organization of the State legislature on January 4, 1875. I was not in command of this military department until 9 o'clock at night on the 4th instant, but I fully indorse and am willing to be held responsible for the acts of the military as conservators of the public peace upon that day. During the few days in which I was in the city prior to the 4th of January, the general topic of conversation was the scenes of bloodshed that were liable to occur on that day, and I repeatedly heard threats of assassinating the governor, and regrets expressed that he was not killed on the 14th of September last; also threats of the assassination of republican members of the house, in order to secure the election of a democratic speaker. I also knew of the kidnaping by the banditti of Mr. Cousinier, one of the members-elect of the legislature. In order to preserve the peace and to make the State-house safe for the peaceful assembling of the legislature, General Emory, upon the requisition of the governor, stationed troops in the vicinity of the building. Owing to these precautions the legislature assembled in the State house without any disturbance of the public peace. At 12 o'clock William Vigers, the clerk of the last house of representatives, proceeded to call the roll as according to law he was empowered to do. One hundred and two legally-returned members answered to their names; of this number fifty-two were republican, and fifty were democrats. Before entering the house, Mr. J. A. Wiltz had been selected in caucus as the democratic nominee for speaker, and Mr. Michael Hahn as the republican nominee. Vigers had not yet finished announcing the result, when one of the members, Mr. Billican, of Lafourche, nominated Mr. J. A. Wiltz for temporary speaker. Vigers promptly declared the motion out of order at that time, when some one put the question, and, amid the cheers of the democratic side of the house, Mr. Wiltz dashed on to the rostrum, pushed aside Mr. Vigers, seized

the speaker's chair and gavel, and declared himself speaker. A protest against this arbitrary and unlawful proceeding was promptly made by members of the majority, but Wiltz paid no attention to their protests, and, upon a motion from some one on the democratic side of the house, declared one Trezevant nominated and elected clerk of the house. Mr. Trezevant at once sprang forward, and occupied the clerk's chair amidst the wildest confusion over the whole house. Wiltz then again, on another nomination from the democratic side of the house, declared one Flood elected sergeant-at-arms, and ordered that a certain number of assistants be appointed. Instantly a large number of men throughout the hall, who had been admitted on various pretexts, such as reporters, members' friends, and spectators, turned down the lapels of their coats, upon which were pinned blue ribbon badges, on which were printed, in gold letters, the words "Assistant sergeant-at-arms," and the assembly was in the possession of the minority, and the White League of Louisiana had made good its threats of seizing the house; many of the assistant sergeants-at-arms being well known as captains of White League companies in this city. Notwithstanding the suddenness of this movement, the leading republican members had not failed to protest again and again against this revolutionary action of the minority, but all to no purpose, and many of the republicans rose and left the house in a body, together with the clerk, Mr. Vigers, who carried with him the original roll of the house, as returned by the secretary of state. The excitement was now very great. The acting speaker directed the sergeant-at-arms to prevent the egress or ingress of members or others, and several exciting scuffles, in which knives and pistols were drawn, took place, and for a few moments it seemed that bloodshed would ensue. At this juncture Mr. Dupre, a democratic member for the parish of Orleans, moved that the military power of the General Government be invoked to preserve the peace, and that a committee be appointed to wait upon General De Trobriand, the commanding officer of the United States troops stationed at the State-house, and request his assistance in clearing the lobby. The motion was declared adopted, a committee of five, of which Mr. Dupre was made chairman, was sent to wait upon General De Trobriand, and soon returned with that officer, who was accompanied by two of his staff officers. As General De Trobriand walked down to the speaker's desk loud applause burst from the democratic side of the house. General De Trobriand asked the acting speaker if it was not possible for him to preserve order without appealing to him as a United States Army officer. Mr. Wiltz said it was not. Whereupon the general proceeded to the lobby, and, addressing a few words to the excited crowd, peace was at once restored. On motion of Mr. Dupre, Mr. Wiltz then, in the name of the general assembly of the State of Louisiana, thanked General De Trobriand for his interference in behalf of law and order, and the general withdrew. The republicans had now generally withdrawn from the hall and united in signing a petition to the governor, stating their grievances and asking his aid, which petition, signed by fifty-two legally-returned members of the house, is in my possession. Immediately subsequent to the action of Mr. Wiltz in ejecting the clerk of the old house, Mr. Billien moved that two gentlemen from the parish of De Soto, one from Winn, one from Bienville, and one from Iberia, who had not been returned by the returning-board, be sworn in as members, and they were accordingly sworn in by Mr. Wiltz and took seats upon the floor as members of the house. A motion was now made that the house proceed with



its permanent organization, and accordingly the roll was called by Mr. Trezevant, the acting clerk, and Wiltz declared elected speaker and Trezevant clerk of the house. Acting on the protest made by the majority of the house, the governor now requested the commanding general of the department to aid him in restoring order, and enable the legally-returned members of the house to proceed with its organization according to law. This request was reasonable and in accordance with law. Remembering vividly the terrible massacre that took place in the city on the assembling of the constitutional convention in 1866, at the Mechanics' Institute, and believing that the lives of the members of the legislature were or would be endangered in case an organization under the law was attempted, the posse was furnished, with the request that care should be taken that no member of the legislature returned by the returning-board should be ejected from the floor. This military posse performed its duty, under directions from the governor of the State, and removed from the floor of the house those persons who had been illegally seated, and who had no legal right to be there, whereupon the democrats rose and left the house, and the remaining members proceeded to effect an organization under the State laws. In all this turmoil, in which bloodshed was imminent, the military posse behaved with great discretion. When Mr. Wiltz, the usurping speaker of the house, called for troops to prevent bloodshed, they were given him. When the governor of the State called for a posse for the same purpose, and to enforce the law, it was furnished also. Had this not been done, it is my firm belief that scenes of bloodshed would have ensued.

P. H. SHERIDAN,  
*Lieutenant-General.*

[Telegram.]

NEW ORLEANS, *January 10, 1875—11.30 p. m.*

Hon. W. W. BELKNAP,  
*Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.:*

Since the year 1865, nearly thirty-five hundred persons, a great majority of whom were colored men, have been killed and wounded in this State. In 1868 the official record shows that eighteen hundred and eighty-four were killed and wounded. From 1868 to the present time, no official investigation has been made, and the civil authorities in all but a few cases have been unable to arrest, convict, and punish perpetrators. Consequently, there are no correct records to be consulted for information. There is ample evidence, however, to show that more than twelve hundred persons have been killed and wounded during this time, on account of their political sentiments. Frightful massacres have occurred in the parishes of Bossier, Caddo, Catahoula, Saint Bernard, Saint Landry, Grant, and Orleans. The general character of the massacres in the above-named parishes is so well known that it is unnecessary to describe them. The isolated cases can best be illustrated by the following instances, which I take from a mass of evidence now lying before me of men killed on account of their political principles. In Natchitoches Parish, the number of isolated cases reported is thirty-three. In the parish of Bienville, the number of men killed is thirty. In Red River Parish the isolated cases of men killed is thirty-four. In Winn Parish the number of isolated cases where men were killed is fifteen. In Jackson Parish the number killed is twenty, and in Cata-

houla Parish the number of isolated cases reported where men were killed is fifty, and most of the country parishes throughout the State will show a corresponding state of affairs. The following statements will illustrate the character and kind of these outrages. On the 30th of August, 1874, in Red River Parish, six State and parish officers, named Twitchell, Divers, Holland, Howell, Edgerton, and Willis, were taken, together with four negroes, under guard to be carried out of the State, and were deliberately murdered on the 29th of August, 1874. The White League tried, sentenced, and hung two negroes on the 28th of August, 1874. Three negroes were shot and killed at Brownsville, just before the arrival of the United States troops in this parish. Two White Leaguers rode up to a negro-cabin and called for a drink of water. When the old colored man turned to draw it, they shot him in the back and killed him. The courts were all broken up in this district, and the district judge driven out. In the parish of Caddo, prior to the arrival of the United States troops, all of the officers at Shreveport were compelled to abdicate by the White League, which took possession of the place. Among those obliged to abdicate were Walsh, the mayor, Rapers, the sheriff, Wheaton, clerk of the court, Durant, the recorder, and Ferguson and Renfro, administrators. Two colored men, who had given evidence in regard to frauds committed in the parish, were compelled to flee for their lives, and reached this city last night, having been smuggled through in a cargo of cotton. In the parish of Bossier the White League have attempted to force the abdication of Judge Baker, the United States commissioner and parish judge, together with O'Neal, the sheriff, and Walker, the clerk of the court; and they have compelled the parish and district courts to suspend operations. Judge Baker states that the White Leaguers notified him several times that if he became a candidate on the republican ticket, or if he attempted to organize the republican party, he should not live until election.

They also tried to intimidate him through his family by making the same threats to his wife, and when told by him that he was a United States commissioner, they notified him not to attempt to exercise the functions of his office. In but few of the country parishes can it be truly said that the law is properly enforced, and in some of the parishes the judges have not been able to hold court for the past two years. Human life in this State is held so cheaply, that when men are killed on account of political opinions, the murderers are regarded rather as heroes than as criminals in the localities where they reside, and by the White League and their supporters. An illustration of the ostracism that prevails in the State may be found in a resolution of a White League club in the parish of De Soto, which states, "That they pledge themselves under (no ?) circumstances after the coming election to employ, rent land to, or in any other manner give aid, comfort, or credit, to any man, white or black, who votes against the nominees of the white man's party." Safety for individuals who express their opinion in the isolated portions of this State has existed only when that opinion was in favor of the principles and party supported by the Ku-Klux and White League organizations. Only yesterday Judge Myers, the parish judge of the parish of Natchitoches, called on me upon his arrival in this city, and stated that in order to reach here alive, he was obliged to leave his home by stealth, and after nightfall, and make his way to Little Rock, Ark., and come to this city by way of Memphis. He further states that while his father was lying at the point of death in the same village, he was unable to visit him for fear of assassination, and yet he is a native of the parish, and proscribed for his political sentiments only

It is more than probable that if bad government had existed in this State it is the result of the armed organizations, which have now crystallized into what is called the White League; instead of bad government developing them, they have by their terrorism prevented to a considerable extent the collection of taxes, the holding of courts, the punishment of criminals, and vitiated public sentiment by familiarizing it with the scenes above described. I am now engaged in compiling evidence for a detailed report upon the above subject, but it will be some time before I can obtain all the requisite data to cover the cases that have occurred throughout the State. I will also report in due time upon the same subject in the States of Arkansas and Mississippi.

P. H. SHERIDAN,  
*Lieutenant-General.*

The following is from the platform adopted by the White League in Saint Mary, on the 13th of July:

We enter into and form this League for the protection of our own race against the daily-increasing encroachments of the negro, and are determined to use our best endeavors to purge our legislative, judicial, and ministerial offices from such a horde of miscreants as now assume to lord it over us.

That to accomplish this end we solemnly *pledge* our honor to each other to give our hearty support to all that this League may determine by a majority of votes cast at any regular meeting, and to aid to the utmost of our ability in carrying out such measures as it may adopt.

That we do not reject or condemn any white man for his political opinions, so that he join us in the one grand object we may have in view.

The following is from the platform of the White League, adopted at Alto on the 11th of July:

That we regard it the sacred and political duty of every member of this club to discountenance and socially proscribe all white men who unite themselves with the radical party; and to supplant every political opponent in all his vocations by the employment and support of those who ally themselves with the white man's party; and we pledge ourselves to exert our energies and use our means to the consummating of this end.

The following resolution was adopted at the White League convention at Franklin on the 1st of August:

*Resolved*, That it is the sense of this convention that every member of the White League organization is in honor and duty bound zealously to support and vote for each and every regular nominee of the organization, to the exclusion of all other candidates or persons whatever.

The following is from the Enterprise of the 6th of August, published at Franklin, Saint Mary Parish:

We ask for no assistance; we protest against any intervention. \* \* \* We own this soil of Louisiana, by virtue of our endeavor, as a heritage from our ancestors, and it is ours, and ours alone. Science, literature, history, art, civilization, and law belong alone to us, and not to the negroes. They have no record but barbarism and idolatry, nothing since the war but that of error, incapacity, beastliness, voodooism, and crime. Their right to vote is but the result of the war, their exercise of it a monstrous imposition, and a vindictive punishment upon us for that ill-advised rebellion.

Therefore are we banding together in a White League army, drawn up only on the defensive, exasperated by continual wrong, it is true, but acting under Christian and high-principled leaders, and determined to defeat these negroes in their infamous design of depriving us of all we hold sacred and precious on the soil of our nativity or adoption, or perish in the attempt.

Come what may, upon the radical party must rest the whole responsibility of this conflict, and as sure as there is a just God in heaven, their unnatural, cold-blooded, and revengeful measures of reconstruction in Louisiana will meet with a terrible retribution.

The following is from the Natchitoches Vindicator of July 18th, addressed to colored citizens:

The white people intend to carry the State election this fall; this intention is deliberate and unalterable, from the fact that their very existence depends upon it, and that you may enjoy the blessings which will naturally follow such an event, blessings made doubly sweet when you know you were partly instrumental in bringing them about, we desire your co-operation, and we simply ask you, will you assist us in redeeming your State from the degradation and ruin she now is in, or will you follow still the advice of those who have placed her thus? Take time to answer it, and let your mind, should you decide affirmatively, be at rest for your future welfare and happiness. We propose to do for you more than any party has yet done for you. On the other hand, should you imagine that the teaching of your former rulers is correct, and you elect to attempt, for it will only be an attempt, to continue their rule, then you must take the consequences. For we tell you now, and let it be distinctly remembered that you have fair warning, that we intend to carry the State of Louisiana in November next, or she will be a military Territory.

The following is from the Minden Democrat:

The remedy for all the evils that afflict our State, and every Southern State under negro and carpet-bag rule, is very simple. The incendiaries who flood our country at the approach of every election must be looked after; the proceedings of midnight gatherings in dark and gloomy places must be known. Incendiary teachings of the carpet-baggers and scallawags to inflame the minds of the negroes must not be tolerated again.

The following is from the Mansfield Reporter of July 4th and July 11th:

There is nothing to be gained by pleadings or concessions, but everything is within our reach, if we will move forward and grasp it. Let our actions be such that everybody will know what we want, and let them see that we are in earnest and are determined to carry out the programme, regardless of the consequences.

The lines must be drawn at once, before our opponents are thoroughly organized, for by this means we will prevent many milk-and-cider fellows from falling into the enemy's ranks. While the white man's party guarantees the negro all of his present rights, they do not intend that white carpet-baggers and renegades shall be permitted to organize and prepare the negroes for the coming campaign. Without the assistance of these villains the negroes are totally incapable of effectually organizing themselves, and unless they are previously excited and drilled, one-half of them will not come to the polls, and a large per cent. of the remainder will vote the white man's ticket.

The following is from the Alexandria Democrat of July 15:

The people have determined that the Kellogg government has to be gotten rid of, and they will not scruple about the means, as they have done in the past.

The following is from the Shreveport Times of July 29:

There has been some red-handed work done in this parish that was necessary, but it was evidently done by cool, determined, and just men, who knew just how far to go, and we doubt not if the same kind of work is necessary it will be done.

We say again that we fully, cordially, approve what the white men of Grant and Rapides did at Colfax; the white man who does not is a creature so base that he shames the worst class of his species. We say, again, we are going to carry the elections in this State next fall.

If the Federal Government again strikes them down then let the infamy of the deed rest upon the shameless despotism that has arisen out of the malignancy and hate of the northern people, beneath whose withering influence no sentiment of liberty can survive; under whose policy of meanness, cowardice, and hate, every community that does not worship it must be trampled in the dust, and every civilization that does not pay tribute to it blasted by its curse.

The following is from the Shreveport Times of August 5:

It has been charged that the white man's party expects to achieve success by intimidation. This is strictly true. We intend to succeed by intimidation, and we place little confidence in our numerical strength as shown in the figures above given from the ninth census. We rely for success solely upon intimidation—but not that intimidation which is the result of violence and bloodshed; our weapons are not to be improved rifles and six-shooters; the intimidation we propose to win by, is that which a great and just cause inspires in its opponents; the intimidation which intellect, virtue, and

all the manly qualities exercise over ignorance, superstition, and human depravity; the intimidation with which the spread banners of a triumphant civilization fills the hearts of its foes, and with which the cross of Christianity strikes the howling der-  
vishes of brutal superstition.

## THE INFAMOUS DEAD.

Our dispatches this morning contain the gratifying intelligence that the infamous wretch, DeKlyne, is dead. Of all the low and dirty beasts that radicalism has imposed upon Louisiana, this scoundrel was the meanest and lowest.

Some squeamish people may think that now the fellow is dead, he should not be abused. We think differently; such men are a disgrace to humanity, and, alive or dead, their infamy should be held up to the execration of the world, and the youth of the country taught to loathe and despise their memory.

The following is from the Shreveport Times of July 9:

If a single hostile gun is fired between the whites and blacks in this and surrounding parishes, *every carpet-bagger and scallawag that can be caught, will, in twelve hours therefrom, be dangling from a limb.* We do not say this is a spirit of braggadocio; we say it in the interest of peace, and we know what we are talking about.

S. Ex. 13—3

